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COPTICA

CONSILIO ET IMPENSIS

INSTITUTI RASK-OERSTEDIANI

EDITA

III

HAUNIAE

GYLDENDALSKE BOGHANDEL-NORDISK FORLAG

1922

WADI SARGA

COPTIC AND GREEK TEXTS

FROM THE EXCAVATIONS UNDERTAKEN BY THE BYZANTINE RESEARCH ACCOUNT

EDITED BY

W. E. CRUM AND H. I. BELL

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON

HAUNIAE

GYLDENDALSKE BOGHANDEL-NORDISK FORLAG

1922 .

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TYPIS ADOLPHI HOLZHAUSEN. VINDOBONAE IN AUSTRIA.

TO

B. P. GRENFELL

PREFATORY NOTE.

In the present state of Europe, when scientific life is everywhere suffering from divisions, intellectual and economic, consequent upon the war, the Danish Government, realising the duties of a neutral and of a collaborator in the society of nations, deserves our thanks for the creation of the "Rask-Oersted Foundation", whereof the object is to contribute something towards furthering international co-operation in matters scientific. A munificent contribution on the part of the Council of the Foundation and the goodwill of Coptic scholars of various nationalities have made it possible to arrange for the issue of a series of Coptic texts — for the most part unpublished — which will, I trust, be welcomed by that small circle for whom the Coptic language and the additions it has to offer towards our knowledge of early Christianity are of interest.

H. O. Lange.

PREFACE.

With a few exceptions, the documents collected in this volume were found, along with many other objects, at Wadi Sarga, during the excavation of the site in the winter of 1913—1914 by Mr. R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON for the Byzantine Research Fund; and it is by the kind permission of that body that we are enabled to publish them here. They include: (a) Greek and Coptic ostraca, which form the bulk of the collection, (b) Coptic stelae and graffiti, whether left in situ or brought to England, (c) Greek and Coptic papyrus and vellum fragments. Since documents of the same class occur on different materials, we have not in our arrangement had regard to the material employed, but have classified the texts according to their character. Only in the case of other materials than potsherds is the material specified. It must be added that the documents here published are only a selection from the whole. We have included all complete texts and not a few fragments: but besides numerous papyrus or vellum scraps, too insignificant to be worth publishing, there are many fragmentary ostraca, some at least of which might perhaps be fitted together, did the results promise to justify the labour which this would entail. Since, however, they seem unlikely to add anything to the evidence of the more complete ostraca, they may safely be neglected, and we hope that the present volume contains all the written or inscribed records found at Wadi Sarga which are of value to historical research. To the documents discovered by Mr. Thompson we have been able to add a few found independently, but clearly assignable to the same site.

X PREFACE.

If the texts here published were not to lose much of their value as historical records it was necessary to add to our commentary some description of the site and of Mr. Thompson's excavations, of which he has been kind enough to give us a brief account for incorporation in our Introduction; but archaeology is not our province, and we have reduced this part of our work to a minimum. It is to be hoped that Mr. Thompson will be able later on to produce an archaeological work on the site and the many interesting finds made there, supplementing our volume.

It must be acknowledged that the interest of the present documents is of a somewhat restricted kind. There are no very outstanding texts, nor do the letters, in general, show any of those more vivid or intimate touches seen in several of the papyri or ostraca from other sites, or the legal texts present any points of juristic importance; but there is much topographical material of value, and some useful evidence on metrology, nor are some of the texts, whether Greek or Coptic, wanting in philological interest. The main importance of the collection lies, however, less in details than in its ensemble, as presenting a picture of the life and activities of a monastic settlement.

The work of editing the single texts has, naturally, been divided between us according to the language employed; but since documents of the same class were written now in Greek (which, however, is sometimes to be styled Greek only by courtesy) and now in Coptic, no distinction between the two languages has been made in our arrangement, and each of us has read the whole volume, adding notes, where notes suggested themselves, to his colleague's commentary. Throughout the volume the topographical notes are, with very few exceptions, due to CRUM, who has written also section II of the Introduction and compiled the Indexes; Bell is responsible for section IV, on metrology.

For convenience in printing Coptic type has been used throughout, except that in a few of the Coptic texts, where portions are inserted in Greek and in minuscule script, we PREFACE. X1

have distinguished words so written by the use of Greek type. To facilitate the distinction of Greek from Coptic texts we have given at the beginning a list arranged according to the language employed. In the commentary the numbers of texts included in this volume are printed in *italic* type.

Since we began work on these texts, the Byzantine Research Fund has presented to the British Museum the whole of the material obtained by it in the excavation of Wadi Sarga, including the documents here published, which will be assigned to the appropriate Departments. It has been possible for us to indicate here the inventory numbers given in the Department of MSS. to the few Greek vellum and papyrus fragments and the general number (Or. MS. 9035) given in the Oriental Department to the Coptic ones; but the ostraca (assigned to the Egyptian Department) and stelae (Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities) were not inventoried in time for us to indicate the proper numbers.

In conclusion we desire to express our thanks to the Byzantine Research Fund, and particularly to Sir Hercules Read and Mr. Dalton, for permitting us to publish these documents; to Dr. H. O. Lange and the Danish Academy for undertaking the publication; to Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie for permission to include in the volume the texts of some stelae (nos. 33, 35–38, 42 of our series), of which facsimiles were given in his *Memphis* I, pll. LIII, LIV and *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pll. XLIX, L; to Prof. F. W. Kelsey of the University of Michigan, for placing at our disposal the papyrus here numbered 174; to Mr. R. Campbell Thompson for his account of the excavations; and to the Printers for their care and accuracy in setting up the difficult copy.

Contents.

List of texts according to languages .							pages XV
Abbreviations							. XVII
Corrigenda			•	•	٠		. XX
Introduction:	·	•			,	•	
T P01 11 1 2 2 2 2 2 2							í
II. The Monastic Settlement and its In	habitanta			٠			7
III. Greek Papyri: Linguistic and Palaec							14
TX7 M-4 -1-	ograpinca	1 NOIE	3				•
				•		•	19
Texts:							
Biblical							29
Theological							. 45
Medical, Magical							. 50
Mathematical .							. 53
Stelae and Graffiti							57
Letters							. 85
Accounts and Lists							105
Contracts etc							132
Invoices							148
Receipts							155
Fragmentary and Uncertain Documents							216
Indexes:							
l. Names							221
II. Months							224
III. Places		•					. 224
IV. Greek	•		·				226
V. Coptic							229
VI. Subjects		•			•		232

List of the texts according to languages.

Coptic.

1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 148, 149, 152, 153, 154, 157, 158, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 196, 197, 198, 202, 203, 204, 275, 344, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379.

Greek.

5, 9, 12, 13, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 147, 150, 151, 155, 156, 159, 160, 195, 199, 200, 201, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385.

Abbreviations.

Abû Sâlih	=	The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt, by EVETTS
		and Butler, Oxford, 1895.
Aeg. Zeit. (or AZ.)	=	Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache etc.
Al-Tuhfa	=	K. il-Tuhfa il-Saniya par Ibn il-Gî'ân. Cairo, 1898.
Ann. du Serv.	=	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.
Archiv	=	Archiv für Papyrusforschung.
BGU.	=	Aegypt. Urk. a. d. Kgl. Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden.
BIF.	=	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
BM.	=	Catalogue of the Coptic MSS. in the British Museum.
Balaiza	=	Unpublished Coptic papyri brought from Deir Balaiza
		by FLINDERS PETRIE, 1907, now in the Bodleian.
Baouit	=	Le Monastère de Baouit, par J. Clédat (Mém.
		Inst. Franç. XII).
Budge, Apoc.	=	Coptic Apocrypha, London, 1913.
Budge, Mart.	=	Coptic Martyrdoms, London, 1914.
Budge, Misc.	=	Miscellaneous Coptic Texts, London, 1915.
CO. (or CRUM, Ostr.)	=	Coptic Ostraca, by W. E. CRUM, London, 1902.
CSCO.	=	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Paris
		(vol. 41 Vita Sinuthii, Leipoldt; voll. 42, 73 Sinuthii
		Opera, LEIPOLDT; vol. 43 Acta Martyrum l, BALESTRI-
		Hyvernat).
Ducange	=	Glossarium mediae et infimae graecitatis.
Elias Apoc.	=	Die Apokalypse des Elias, by G. Steindorff (Texte
		und Unt., NF. II, 1899).
HALL	=	Coptic and Greek Texts, by H. R. HALL, London, 1905.
HENGSTENBERG	=	ν. p. 24.
Hist. Laus.	=	The Lausiac History of Palladius, by E. C. BUTLER
		(Texts and Studies VI).

Oxford, 1898—1920.

Hultsch, Metr. Scr. = F. Hultsch, Metrologicorum Scriptorum Reliquiae, 2 vols., Tenbner, 1864, 1866.

HORNER

= The Coptic Version of the New Test. [by G. HORNER],

XVIII

ABBREVIATIONS.

= Parts 4 and 5 of K. al-Intisar etc., Bulak, AH. Ibn Dukmâk = Lingua Aegyptiaca Restituta. by A. KIRCHER, KIRCHER Rome, 1643. = v. KRALL. Kovt. Rechtsurk. = Koptische Texte, Rechtsurkunden, by J. KRALL KRALL (Corpus Pap. Rainer II, 1895). = Mémoires de l'Institut Égyptien. MIF= Mélanges d'Archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne, Mél. d'Arch. Paris. 1873-1876. = Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de Beyrouth. Mél. Or. = Ostraca in P. M. MEYER, Griechische Texte aus MEYER, Ostr. Deissmann Ägypten, 1916. = Mémoires de la Mission Archéol. Franc, au Miss. franc. Caire. = Mittheilungen a. d. Papyrussammlung Erzh. Mit. (or Mitth.) Rainer Rainer. MITTEIS, Chrest. = Grundzüge u. Chrest. d. Papyruskunde, by L. MITTEIS and U. WILCKEN, 2. Bd., 2. Hälfte, 1912. Mus. Guim. = Annales du Musée Guimet. Pap. Codex = Der Papyruscodex saec. VI - VII etc., by W. E. CRUM, Straßburg, 1915. = Coptic papyri in the Museum at Alexandria. P. Alex P. Cairo (or P. Cairo MASP.) = Papyrus grecs by J. MASPERO, in the Cairo Catal. Général. P. Flor. = Papiri greco-egizii: Papiri Fiorentini, by A. Com-PARETTI and G. VITELLI. = Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu P. Lips. Leipzig, by L. MITTEIS. P. Lond. = Greek Papyri in the British Museum. P. Mon. = Byzantinische Papyri, by Heisenberg and Wen-GER, Munich, 1914. PG. = MIGNE, Patrologia, Series Graeca. P. Oxv. = Papyri from Oxyrhynchus, by Grenfell and PSI. = Papiri greci e latini : Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei Papiri greci e latini in Egitto. Patr. Or. (or PO.) = Patrologia Orientalis, Paris. PREISIGKE, SB. = Sammelbuch griech. Urkunden a. Ägypten, by F. PREISIGKE, 1913, etc. RAINER Mitth. = v. Mit. = Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie Rec.

égyptienne etc. Paris.

RP. = Correspondance de St. Pésunthius, by E. REVILLOUT, in Recueil etc. IX. XIV.

ROC. = Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, Paris.

Rossi, N. Cod. = Un Nuovo Codice Copto, by F. Rossi (R. Acc. Linc., Mem., 1893).

Rossi, Papiri = I Papiri Copti ... di Torino, by F. Rossi (R. Acc., Torino, Mem., 1887-1892).

Ryl. = Catal. of the Coptic MSS. in the J. Rylands Library,
Manchester, 1999.

ST. = Short Texts from Coptic Ostraca and Papyri, by W. E. CRUM, Oxford, 1921.

Saqqara = Excavations at S., by J. E. QUIBELL; Coptic Inscriptions by H. THOMPSON, Cairo 1909, 1912.

Sitzb. Wien. Akad. = Sitzungsberichte d. Kaiserl. Akad. d. Wissensch. Wien, Phil.- hist, Klasse.

Turaief, Mater. = Materialien 2. christl. Arch. Ägyptens (Coptic Texts from W. de Bock's expedition), Moskow, 1902.

WILCKEN, Grdzge. = v. MITTEIS above.

WILCKEN, Ostr. = U. WILCKEN, Griechische Ostraka, 1899.

ZDMG. = Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morgenländ. Gesellschaft.

ZOEGA = Catal. Codd. Copticorum, Rome, 1810.

Corrigenda.

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INTRODUCTION.

I. The Excavations at Wadi Sarga.

By R. Campbell Thompson.

The excavations in which the inscriptions published in this volume were found were carried on on behalf of the Byzantine Research Fund during the winter of 1913—14 at Wadi Sarga, an extensive Coptic site about fifteen miles south of Asyut. I was fortunate in being accompanied for a fortnight by my friend Mr. F. A. RICHARDS, a trained architect, who came out at his own expense and mapped the precincts of this site. The war, however, interrupted his work on this map, and he volunteered early in 1914 for service on the sea: the present map is only a planetable sketch, for which he is not responsible. As space in this volume is confined to inscriptions, ostraca etc., I have held over my detailed plans of the buildings excavated for inclusion in a fuller publication.

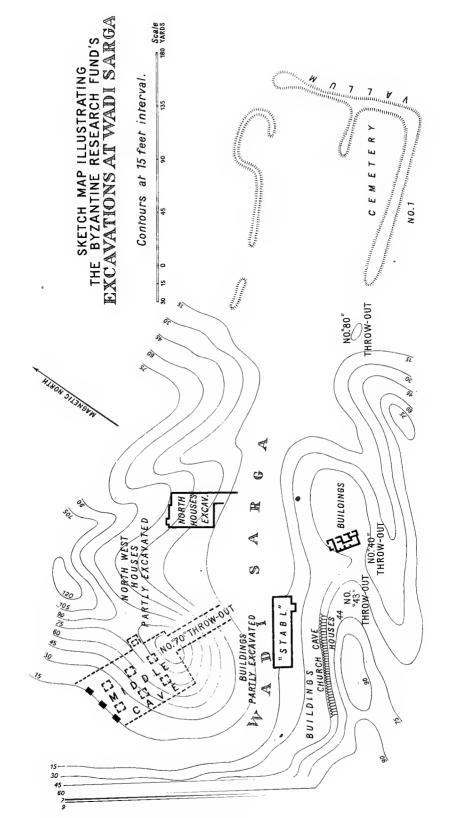
Wadi Sarga is a broad gully in the bare limestone cliffs which flank the valley of the Nile on the west, about a mile distant from the edge of cultivation near the village of Dêr-el-Ganadleh. The wadi itself is from 100 to 300 yards wide, and extends far into the hills; clustered within its mouth and often up both steep flanks for a distance of perhaps a third of a mile up its length lie the remains of what was once a thriving Coptic community. The ancient inhabitants had masked its entrance with Coptica. III.

a vallum now only a few feet high jutting out in the form of a rectangle towards the eastern flats, made partly of large rough stones, each in size as much as a man could carry, from the limestone hills. To protect themselves additionally on either slope they had made a rough wall, now consisting of loose stones, skirting the exposed sides of the town on such parts of the crest as demanded such a barrier, leaving intervals only where the rock was sufficiently precipitous to form a natural defence.

Standing at the entrance one looks straight up the wadi for three hundred yards, at which point it turns sharp to the right. On the crest of the left (southern) slope are the ruins of large buildings, and trailing down the side are many small and narrow houses. To the front, two hundred yards up the wadi and astride it, is the imposing mass of brick walls which form the rectangle of what the Arabs call the "stabl" or beast-caravanserai. The right slope of the wadi is packed with little houses, built up the steep side, one above another, with a common stairway leading upwards, and beyond these, on the right of the "stabl", is the opening of a large cave running under a spur which juts out from the northern side.

After this first view, proceeding further up the wadi, one sees in the southern ridge, on a kind of second terrace, the "Church" caves of great extent, containing remarkable frescoes of the Lord's Supper.

These are great caverns running far up into the mountain, the rock having been so hewn as to leave columns for the support of the roof. The entrance to the cave is about 15 to 18 yards wide, and the frescoes begin round the eastern corner. Here first are various groups of haloed figures (twenty-two in all), with geometric designs; then follows the main fresco, the Lord's Supper, in the dome. The central figure is Christ at the table with a halo round His head, and wearing a red gown, and He is giving one of the disciples to drink from a golden cup. To the left of Him (to the north) are at least five haloed figures; on the right, including the figure drinking, are three more. Here there is a break of five feet, and then come two figures who may or may not belong to the main picture. There are several



more (fifteen in number, and three, perhaps originally four, medallions of heads) round the corner to the south.

Above the caves, outside, up the hill slope, built to the very verge of the abrupt and sheer fall of the cliff are more small houses. Continuing still further up the valley and following its turn to the right, one passes a large brick building on the southern side supported half way up the slope of the hillside by a wellmade revetment of large stones, and presently the western entrance of the cave which is mentioned above as running under a northern spur is reached. Then, by following up the wadi which now winds to the left, one meets a third series of caves on the south side. Near here, in one of these caves I found a late Egyptian sculpture of a scene including Antaeus (?) (published in Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., 1914, 198), and there were other indications of Egyptian occupation from the excavations, such as a large block of well-squared breccia, and the bones of a crocodile at some considerable distance away up in the hills which was found by my uncle. Mr. Frederic Thompson, who staved with me for some days. Still more definite was a late Egyptian cemetery on the fringe of cultivation towards the village of Dêr-el-Ganadleh. On the other hand the diggers found only virgin sand at the foot of the northern slope beneath the Coptic house-levels.

The remains at the foot of the Coptic houses may best be described under three heads: (1.) The Buildings, (2.) The "Throwouts", (3.) The Cemeteries.

Taking the houses on the north slope of the hill first, I found that the best way to excavate them was to dig from below, gradually ascending the hill side, and filling the lower chambers with the sand thrown out from those above as soon as they had been planned. The houses may be defined as being on at least seven levels as far as I dug them (o = wadi level, i = 7, 2 = 17, 6, 3 = 24, 4 = 36, 5, 5 = 42, 2, 6 = 49, 5) and above this the chambers did not offer much prospect of success.

As a rule the walls in the lowest level ("o") were built on foundations of big rough stones. These walls, and those of the houses above, were made of unburnt brick, and then plastered over with mud and sometimes whitewashed, adorned with frescoes of saints or, in one case, a lion, and graffiti. Several of the chambers had mastabas or solid benches adjoining the virgin wall formed by the hillside; and as our finds showed, there had been some attempt to set up small limestone columns. The roofs had rafters of date-palm trunks, and there were ovens in several of the chambers. The ascent up the hillside was made by a kind of public stairway.

The occupants were comfortable, if not wealthy. They used a simple pottery, making amphorae (which they frequently inscribed) which had special stoppers, basins, lamps, wine-cups, etc.: they used a white ware for oenochoae, and painted some of the pottery somewhat crudely, the pieces of one vase representing combats obviously in Greek style. They carved the soft limestone decoratively with arabesques or representations of fruit, etc., one of the objects found being a limestone stand for two vessels. They wove cloth well in designs; they wore leather shoes; they made mats of string and palm, baskets, and nets; they ornamented leather, and bound their pot-handles with leather; they had bronze balances, fibulae and crosses; iron hooks and nails; leather bags and water skins; and glass (one piece was a foot, like that of a modern wine-glass). Many were able to write, and there appears to have been a custom of preserving commemorative stelae, which were often found in the ruins of the houses.

We tried an experimental trench near the S. E. corner of the "stabl", and this resulted in our finding a flooring of well-cut limestone slabs. The walls inside had been covered with a whitened plaster, and there seem to have been some small chambers leading out of the main hall (?). We found a large limestone block, $7'8'' \times 11''$, morticed in in three places.

We also dug out several chambers in various other parts of the wadi, all of which resulted in our finding the same kind of objects as the houses on the north slope provided.

The "throw-outs" afforded most interesting remains, and these within a few inches of the surface. The most important were two (No. "80") at the mouth of the wadi, each about thirty yards long and in places as much as fifteen wide. A foot below surface level was a bed of ashes three feet thick, below which

was earth again. The finds here included 669 ostraca and many papyri and some vellum fragments.

The next best "throw-out" was No. "70" in the large middle cave under the northern spur, from which also came many ostraca. There were two other good refuse-heaps (Nos. "40" and "43", marked on the map) which provided ostraca or other antiquities.

The cemeteries were outside the wadi; the first is near its debouchment, and the second is some little way off, in front of the more modern church near the old Well. I opened between twenty and thirty graves, but found little except the bodies in rough wrappings. These were buried as a rule about five feet below the surface, with their feet to the east in practically every case (the position of the body being usually between 60° and 7° magnetic bearing)(1). A third cemetery near Dêr-el-Ganadleh turned out to be late Egyptian and need not be discussed here.

Perhaps the most striking result of the whole excavation came from a small villa about two miles distant to the north, where were frescoes of Kosmas and Damian, the Holy Children in the Furnace, and a peacock. These have been fully described (2) by O. M. Dalton in *Journ. Egypt. Archaeol.* III, 35.

The objects are for the most part now in the British Museum.

⁽¹⁾ One was 50° and another 118° E. of N.

⁽²⁾ Cf. the remarks on p. 13 below.

II. The Monastic Settlement and its Inhabitants. By W. E. Crum.

The monastery or ascetic settlement, whence our materials come, is not one of those known to the later topographers, such as Abû Şâlih or Makrizi(1). The name of the neighbouring village, Dair al-Ganadlah, indeed implies the existence at one time of a monastery; but there is no explanation of its name which helps us to connect it with the ruins in the Wadi Sarga.

Among our texts and those related to them (2) there are however about a dozen which show us the names whereby the monastery was known in the 6th or 7th centuries. These tell us that it bore the name of "The Holy Monastery of Apa Thomas" (164, 375), "The Monastery of Apa Th." (344), "The Rock ($\pi \acute{\epsilon} \tau \rho \alpha$) of Apa Th." (Ryl. 289, cf. 124 and 2 unpublished fragments)(3). One letter (96) is adressed to the "archimandrite of the Holy Mount" (4), which may or may not be identical with the Rock of Thomas. But "The Holy Rock ($\pi \acute{\epsilon} \tau \rho \alpha$)", named in two letters from the neighbouring Dair Balaizah (now in Bodleian), is most

⁽¹⁾ The only monastery (Makrizi's no. 54) bearing the name of Thomas (v. below) in the district is that dedicated to the apostle; moreover it lies too near Siut.

⁽²⁾ The papyri Ryl. 124, 201 (probably), 289, 294 emanate from our monastery. They appear to have come on to the market of Ashmunain, mixed with the rest of the documents from that neighbourhood. Doubtless others sold there had a like origin.

 $[\]cdot$ (3) Several other scraps of papyrus from W. Sarga preserve these words imperfectly.

^{(4) &}quot;Holy Mount" is in Egypt sometimes a designation of Shihèt, or of the White Monastery (Turaief, *Mater.*, no. 53), or merely perhaps of the monastery whence an inscription comes, e. g. on stelae from Edfu (or Luxor?): V. Schmidt, Den Aegypt. Samling 1908, no. 810.

probably our monastery.(1) What the origin was of this epithet "holy" we know not. The still very tangled legends of the sojourn of the Holy Family in Upper Egypt, of which the Coptic original is but fragmentary(2), although relating to these districts, do not allow of recognizing either of Mary's resting-places so far south of Sint.

Who this Thomas was it has not so far been possible to ascertain(3): presumably the founder of the monastery and presumably also identical with him who heads the group of names conspicuous on so many of our stelae. On these indeed the remaining names are sometimes omitted and "Thomas and his brethren" suffice. That he lived before the period to which our texts belong is evident from "the monastery of Apa Th." being in them an already accepted designation; from the mention of several archimandrites, other than he, who are contemporary with the documents; and from Th. being (apparently) invoked on a stele (73).

⁽¹⁾ Πέτρα, as a particular locality, is found in Egypt in Nitria (Hist. Laus., Butler II, 189, Mus. Guim. XXV, 296) and at Siut (Miss. franç. IV, 767, Clédat, Baouit I, 43). Cf.? Paris arabe 148, f. 305, hāgir gabal Asyūt. With this one is tempted, despite difference of genders, to compare one of our unpublished scraps, beginning] ΕΙΟΥΗ2 2ΝΘΑΘΑΡ Π[. The word hāgir is of uncertain meaning; in the Synaxarium it varies occasionally with gabal (cf. PO. III 301 with ib. XI 783, Benhodeb, and ib. 440 with XI 685, Fargūd, and XI 515 with 519, Erment.) M. Ch. Kuentz informs me that in Upper Egypt it is "partie rocheuse de la montagne, lisière du désert, non loin des terres cultivés; jamais une partie de la vallée comme une digue" (the meaning given by the dictionaries). Cf. its use in Maķrizi's Monasteries, nos. 48, 49, 50, 52, 53; also Dozy and Kremer, Beiträge, s. ν.

⁽²⁾ Remnants of Timothy's sermon on the church at Koskam, Paris 1315, 101—104 and 1321, 22 (Ethiopic in BM. Or. 604). The place where the Virgin had washed Jesus is there often called "this πέτρα". Cf. Ryl. 277 n.

⁽³⁾ The beginning of a Life of Thomas the anchorite is in the fragment Paris arabe 263, f. 111; but from it nothing is to be learnt. Probably a confusion with Th. the apostle, commemorated on the next day (26th Bashans). Another Th. from Ashmunain, commemorated on 21st Hathor, should belong to our neighbourhood; but nothing is known of him. Th. of the Hill (monastery) of Shensifi (Cairo Absaliyat, 1913, p. \$\Phi_5\$) is presumably Shenoute's contemporary (Miss. 1V 465). It is indeed a considerable assumption to suppose our abbot had attained a place in the Synaxarium.

This group: Thomas, Peter, Joseph, Anoup, Pamoun, with Germanus and Justus added thrice each and finally Enoch once (51), occurs in some 13 texts (stelae and ostraca), among the saints invoked. Either it follows the more renowned names, or it stands alone (39, 41, 59), no one besides being invoked. The names it comprises have not been found thus grouped together except at Wadi Sarga; it may therefore be assumed that they were honoured only here, forming perhaps the proprium of the local liturgy (1). But whether we are to see in them a group of contemporaries, or a sequence of successive officials(2) it is hard to say. Examples of each of the names can indeed be adduced from our documents and we have evidence of officials named Pamoun, Germanus, Justus and Enoch (3) as contemporaries with the texts which mention them. If we took these to be the very dignitaries invoked upon the stelae, we should have to assume the latter to be of later date than the ostraca and papyri.

When did Thomas live? In this question is involved an interesting fact only recently noticed. The invaluable palimpsest, from which Sir Herbert Thompson has edited the Sa'idic texts of Joshua etc., bears upon its last page(4) a subscription consisting merely of four names: Apa Thomas, Apa Peter, Apa Joseph and Apa Mena. It can scarcely be coincidence that the first three of these should be identical with the first three names in the group we have been discussing. The vellum MS., which was re-used in Nitria to write Syriac texts in the 10th century, had doubtless been acquired by the monks of Dair es-Suriyān, indirectly perhaps, from our monastery at Wadi Sarga. The last of the names, Mena, may be that of an abbot — if abbots they be — passed

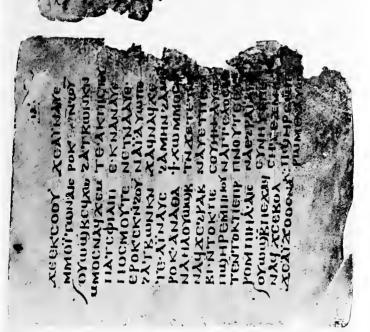
⁽¹⁾ Cf. the local worthies — abbots etc. — commemorated in the liturgical MSS. from the White Monastery, or upon the stelae from Saqqara.

⁽²⁾ If officials, were they abbots? Cf. Hall p. 143, where a stele invokes "the stewards" (οἰχονόμοι), instead of the usual "great men" = abbots.

⁽³⁾ Assuming P. to be = Apa Amoun in Ryl. 294. G. is prior in 344 (perhaps he had been the abbot's representative in Ryl. 289). J. is prior in Ryl. 201 and very likely abbot in 94, 102, 103, 113 (perhaps our monastery under his name, Krall CCXLII, 33); while Enoch, the oft named s:eward, may have become abbot subsequently (95, cf. 169, 171).

⁽⁴⁾ A Coptic Palimpsest, 1911, p. 372. Cf. BM. no. 12.





No. 17, verso

No. 4, fol. 4, recto

over for reasons unknown by that subsequent generation to which we owe our stelae; or he may be the scribe of the MS., who here commemorates three of his predecessors.

If, then, we could arrive at a date for the writing of this MS., we might hazard an approximate date for the foundation of the monastery by Abbot Thomas. Palaeographical considerations alone can help us and these point to the first half of the 7th century as the probable time of writing(1). Thomas may therefore have lived somewhat before the year 600. Fragments of other vellum books found (v. Plate I) show hands which date from at least the 4th century; but the books brought together in a library may well have been written long before that library was formed. The coins again, found among the ruins, are from the middle and latter part of the 6th century (Justinian to Maurice), some from the latter part of the 7th (early Ommayads); while the name Heraclius, borne by the writer of a letter (116), recalls the same period. Finally, scraps of Greek-Arabic "protocols", of 8th century type, and the beginning of an official letter in Arabic from Kurrah b. Sharik (governor AD. 708-714) allow us to suppose the monastery still inhabited in his day (2). Presumably it was laid waste and abandoned during one or other of the subsequent Muslim persecutions.

Of what type was the monastic settlement at Wadi Sarga? Was it organized as a coenobium, with common dwellings and central church, refectory etc.; or did the community consist of hermits, inhabiting separate cells and caves and meeting periodically at the common church?(3). On this problem the remains

⁽¹⁾ Hyvernat, quoted by Thompson, l. c., p. VI. Cf. also ZDMG. 65, 853.

⁽²⁾ The following is the text of his letter, the phrases in which may be compared with the Arabic headings to nos. 1362 and 1378 of P.Lond.lV (Aphrodito): — المعالفة المعالف

⁽³⁾ Moschus, in the 6th century, found the monks of one community in this

of many small houses, clustered upon the N. side of the wadi, offer no conclusive evidence. Who dwelt in them: monks or villagers? Nothing helps us to decide. The words for "cell" chance to occur but rarely(1), nor are their precise meanings yet sufficiently clear to support argument.

We learn however (from Ryl. 124) that the superior of the Rock of Apa Thomas bore the title of archimandrite, a dignity which was used by the abbots of most of the principal monasteries in Egypt — those of Nitria apparently excepted — and which, in such cases, implied a coenobium and not a laura, or colony of anchorites. The superior is also called "father" (of the monastery), as elsewhere (2); or "the great man" (Ryl. l. c.). The archimandrite himself acts as party to a contract (161), or sends orders for provisions required (87), just as the steward does elsewhere (80). The latter is oftenest the author of such documents: he orders deliveries of wine (110, 177, 178), of other victuals (181), the fattening of pigs (probably, 107), the supplying of passing sailors' needs (104). He pays for wine received (167, 168), or gives receipts for delivery (188, 192). Or receipts are issued by the council (dizatov) of the monastery (344)(3). Besides these two officials the prior is sometimes found acting for the community (375, Ryl. 201), in one case with the deuterarius as colleague. From 111 we might assume that a bishop dwelt in this, as occasionally in other monastic communities (4). On the

district, 6 miles from Siut, living some in cells, others in caves. (PG. LXXXVII, 3028 C).

⁽¹⁾ PI in 153, ΜΑ ΝΟΜΠΕ in 100, 101 (lit. "dwelling", sometimes = ασχητήριον, Vit. Pachom. § 13, = Mus. Guim. XVII 28; sometimes the convent as a whole, Mus. Guim. XVII 32).

⁽²⁾ In cases where the steward (οἰzονόμος) receives orders from "So-and-so, his father" (95 etc.), we may assume that the abbot is the person thus designated. Whether Enoch, when calling himself "father" (169, 171), is still but steward, may be questioned. Cf. 376, where the writer calls himself the steward's "son".

⁽³⁾ In Ryl. 124 the archimandrite of our monastery, in ib. 201 the prior, represents the δίχαιον. Cf. P. Lond. II p. 325, where the prior represents the δίχαιον (7 th cent.). A small papyrus fragt. shows a document beginning NKG-ΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ ΝΤΠΕΤΡΑ Ν[. Is this equivalent to χεφαλαιωταί?

⁽⁴⁾ CO. p. XIII; v. also BUDGE, Apoc. 112, Rossi, Papiri I, 3, 17 ff.

other hand, the bishop of Sbeht-Apollinopolis, presumably diocesan of our monastery, resided at Sbeht, if we may judge by 375. The monks collectively are "the brethren" (103, 190); individually, the term "my brother" is, as elsewhere, used where we should say "brother So-and-so". Those distinguished as anchorites are rare (117).

Business relations were maintained with communities of nuns (159, 168, 170, Ryl. 124, perhaps ib. 201), located, we may suppose, close by. Indeed 38 and 65 show that nuns were allowed memorial tablets (in the church?), like the brethren.

As to the property of the monastery we learn nothing definite. Among Coptic documents from other monastic sites, none are concerned so largely as ours with traffic in wine(t) (v. especially the Receipts, 205 ff.). Of the score or so of places whence wine appears to have been brought, those identifiable which occur oftenest are either in the Hermopolite nome (Thallou, Phouêu), or north of it (Plebiôw, Tahroui, Touhô); some in the latitude of the Fayyûm (Hnês-Heracleopolis, Tiloj). Vines and traffic in wine are often enough the subject of 6th and 7th century documents from Middle Egypt, but they are very rarely mentioned in those from the south(2) and it is noticeable that no place south of Wadi Sarga has been identified among those named in our texts. From whom the wine was obtained we do not learn. In 05 we read of "the camelherds of master Serapion" and their accounts (lit. potsherds). Presumably he was a wine grower with whom the monastery dealt. From expressions used in 93, 106, we might suppose the wine to have been sometimes sent from the monastery to the cultivated valley, in exchange for fodder. 373 shows that the camelherds were, in some cases at least, monks. The wine finally reached the monastery by camel, but we hear

Excepting perhaps the Menas shrines, whose ostraca published by DRERUP (Griech. Ostraka von den Menas-Heiligtümern, Röm. Quartalschr., 1908, pp. 240 -257), are largely orders for payments of wages, or allowances to πατηταί οτ τρυγηταί.

⁽²⁾ P. Lond. II, p. 326, Edfû; Hall p. 41, presumably Thebes; CRUM, Short Texts 396, 426, ditto. Otherwise Aphrodito is the most southern place where in this period wine growing is recorded.

of it occasionally loaded on shipboard for the preliminary voyage southward (135 and? 133).

Wine in various conditions — perhaps of various qualities — is mentioned: "old" (g1, 303), "new" (186), "pure" $(\alpha\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\delta\nu, 377)$ and others of doubtful meaning (186); also one perhaps especially reserved for the abbot (g2, 186)(1). No conclusions can be drawn as to the flocks possibly owned by the monastery from the reference to shepherds in 106 though the frequent occurrence of bills for cheese (196) ff.) may be better evidence of this; nor as to cultivated land from the list of husbandmen in 158, or the "chief husbandman" (if that be the correct rendering) in 167.

Conspicuously absent from our texts are certain features familiar in other, similar collections of private documents. No communications from local magistrates, no disciplinary admonitions from the ecclesiastical authorities, although all the writers appear to be clergy or monks; the piously worded begging letter, whereby one hermit recommends the mendicant to the charity of another, is unrepresented; likewise the empty salutations and requests for prayers. This state of things may of course be due to chance destruction, to mere accidents of exploration, or partly to peculiarities in the situation of the monastery. It may too be noted that ostraca, as writing material, seem to have been less in fashion at Wadi Sarga than they were further south; literary texts, biblical or patristic, are but rarely written upon them here. It is remarkable that at neither of the neighbouring sites, Balaizah or Aphrodito, were any ostraca found; we must suppose that papyrus was there still easily procurable. Conditions at Wadi Sarga may have been similar.

A few words may be said respecting the idiom in which our Coptic texts are written. Apart from chance traces of extraneous dialects (v. 1 and 15), the literary fragments show a Sa'idic of exemplary purity (2). The documents likewise (though

⁽¹⁾ In a wine account from Balaizah "the great man's (the abbot's) table" is specially provided for.

⁽²⁾ Perhaps the language of the Joshua Palimpsest (v. above), as coming from Wadi Sarga, should be here taken into consideration. Cf. Thompson's observations, op. cit. p. IX, and the review above referred to.

not the stelae) use in general a quite correct orthography, the occasional doubling of 11, or omission of 1 where 2 are required (e. g. 116, 132, 176, 178, 323), or of the N-genit, (130, 157) and now and then of the prep. e- or a confusion of B and 4 (notably in 112 640A, 164 640T, 197 etc. 41P), being almost the only characteristics worth recording. The opening formula of the letters shows indeed a form very commonly found in texts from the Hermopolite neighbourhood, but not frequent in those from the district S. of Siut and closer to W. Sarga, namely the prefix nq- (-ne eq- in 187). There are a dozen instances of this as against two only (86, 186) of ner- and three of eq. (99, 185, 344). The businesslike character of our documents may be seen in the unusual dearth of those complimentary phrases which adorn the letters from other sites. Without exception ours serve a practical purpose: their writers omit all empty phraseologv(1). The vocabulary in use is generally that of Hermopolis, i. e. of Middle Egypt; an exception such as MAAXE-μάτιον, otherwise peculiar to the Theban neighbourhood (2), being almost unique.

The only product of the excavations at Wadi Sarga hitherto published (excepting the stelae from Dair al-Ganadlah; v. below) is the fresco of Cosmas and Damianus reproduced and fully described by Mr. Dalton in Journ. Eg. Arch. III, 35. Nothing need therefore be said of it here except to propose a different reading of the place-name in the text which accompanies the picture. Instead of TCHOYIOT, Siût, a most unlikely form of that familiar name, it seems better to read TCH(M)OYAOT Samalût, the town several times occurring in our texts (v. 239 n.). The reading of the letters H and A, though clumsily formed, can hardly be in doubt. The "three score martyrs" however are brought no nearer to identification by this revision in the name of their place of origin or martyrdom.

⁽¹⁾ Perhaps 100, 106 go farthest in this respect. The nature of 109 comports a somewhat less dry style.

⁽²⁾ Once used by Shenoute, CSCO. 42, 83.

III. Greek Papyri. Linguistic and Palaeographical Notes.

By H. I. Bell.

Though all the papyri discovered on the site were very fragmentary, those written in Greek were particularly so, and none of these scraps is worth publishing in full. In this section are collected, however, the more interesting points, whether names or noteworthy phrases, found in them. The handwriting of most of the fragments, and in several cases the character of the entries, recalling the Aphrodito accounts of P. Lond, IV, point to a date not earlier than the 7th century for the majority of the Greek scraps and, more often than not, to the period after the Arab conquest of Egypt. The hands are generally of the "minuscule" type seen in the Aphrodito accounts, but instances of the larger, more sloping cursive used in 6th-7th cent. contracts, and less definitely characteristic of a post-Arabic date, occur. These fragments, it should be added, are now all mounted in the Department of MSS., British Museum, with the inventory number Pap. 2241.

Fragments of account-books in various minuscule hands are frequent and seem largely to concern taxation, whether in money or in kind; in one or two cases the purpose of the requisitions is specified, e. g. Δη τογμβ. (qu. δαπάνης τοῦ συμβουλου? for σύμβουλος as the Arab Governor see P. Lond. IV passim; possibly however τογμβ[ογλοτ, Samalūt);] θ ιΔ/ S (= καί) ΔΑΠΑΝΗ[. An entry S κεφλ οιμί! [recalls the series of accounts P. Lond. IV 1426 ff. (see introduction to 1426 and p. 171; Wilcken, Grdzge. p. 236; Bell, Journ. Eg. Arch. IV, p. 95); and Δ]Ημφοιο may be land-tax, as in P. Lond. IV (p. 170). For S τιτλ^ω/ Αρθ ΝΟ [and (next line) S τιτλ^ω πρφ... [see Preisigke, Fachwörter, s. v. τίτλος, etc. ληΔ[may be ἀνδρισμός; and S προσφορ^[]P^[]] is also worthy of mention.

Other entries in the accounts worth noting are one or two references to $\chi \acute{o} \rho \tau(o\varsigma)$, measured not, as often, by the aroura, but by the artaba; and $\dagger \acute{o} \mu o (\ell \omega \varsigma) \epsilon \dot{\ell}(\varsigma) \tau(o \upsilon \varsigma) \alpha \dot{\upsilon} \tau(o \upsilon \varsigma)$ $\delta \rho \mu o \upsilon (\varsigma)$.

Place-names are εi(ς) τ(ε) ἐποί(χιον) Ψιμ[, which is perhaps to be taken as Ψιμ[ανωβετ], a personal name at Aphrodito in the 6th century (see P. Lond. V, index 2) and the name of a τόπος there (in the form Ψιβανωβετ) in the 8th (see P. Lond. IV, index 4[b]);]ωθ απο παροβ ω (= ὑπέρ) ν[; ω τοπ νεογ[(or νει/[);]λι ω παροδ (see 121, 2, note, and references there) S γηα.[;]. απ κτημη παλμ πατε[ρμογθίογ?; απο περτ/ (apparently not τερτ/, i. e. one of the various place-names beginning Τέρτον; cf. Pertob in 157) ε[. The few personal names offer nothing calling for comment, but ω παλμ πονιτίο may be noted. Titles which occur are βοηθ/, καμαλ/ (several times repeated), and the Coptic παζον in Greek script. More noteworthy, for their Byzantine official associations, are ? φοιβ]αμ/ τριβογη/ and πριμκιρ/ (several times).

There are only a few fragments of contracts. One, a scrap of brown papyrus, in a small upright cursive hand, not likely to be much, if at all, later than the end of the 6th century, is from a διάλυσις (ll. 2—4, THC ΔΙΑΛΥCΕΘΙΟ ΠΕΡΙ Τ[Ε ΧΤλ. ΔΟ-ΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΦΟΒΟΥ ΚΑΙ Β[ΙΑC ΧΤλ. | ΕΚΟΥCΙΑ ΗΜΙΟΝ ΓΝΟΡ[ΜΗ ΧΤλ.). Another, a scrap of light-coloured papyrus in a big sprawling cursive hand with rather thick strokes, of the late 6th or early 7th century, has in l. 2 the words] ΘΑΛΑΘ ΤΟΥ ΕΡ[ΜΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ?, in l. 3 the name ΙΌΛΝΝΘ ΥΙΘ]. A third, in a 7th century hand of minuscule type, may be a receipt [l. 2, ? ΚΑΤ] Α-CΠΑΡΘ ΕΠΙ ΚΑΡΠ Β ΙΝΑ. Ε. [

It will be seen that the Greek fragments contribute exceedingly little to our knowledge of the monastic settlement, but they serve, along with the Arabic fragments, to extend its history into the Arab period. That the fragments of contracts suggest pre-Arab, and the fragments of accounts Arab, times, is presumably accidental; but it may be the case that the settlement was more severely taxed after the conquest than before.

The scripts of the Greek ostraca include several which are of the "minuscule" type; but this is not of a late cha-

racter, and the great majority are in uncial hands, with few or no ligatures. A large number of the receipts are in a single hand, an upright rounded uncial, extremely neat and regular and sometimes almost calligraphic (an example on Plate II). Putting aside the minuscule hands, one would be tempted to date these ostraca "circa 600"; and even when we include the minuscule script there seems no reason, on palaeographical grounds, to bring down the lower limit of date much, if at all, after the Arab conquest, A very similar conclusion is suggested by the Coptic hands. There is a considerable variety of these, upright and sloping, regular and hasty, smaller and larger; but for the most part they seem to fall within comparatively narrow limits of time and that time contemporary with the Greek ostraca. One or two show a thick, heavy upright uncial hand of liturgical type (Plate II), which might be, but is not necessarily, later than the rest.

On the whole, and adding the testimony of the coins found at Wadi Sarga, which range from Justinian to Maurice, we shall probably not be far wrong in fixing a period from the latter part of the 6th to about the middle of the 7th century as the date of these records. The Arabic scrap mentioning Kurrah and perhaps the Greek accounts on papyrus bring the lower limit down to the early 8th century. The literary MSS., Greek and Coptic, some of which probably date from a period not later than the 5th century, while one (17) is probably of the 4th (v. Plate I), may push back the earlier limit; but literary MSS., which were often kept for a long period of time, and which, in this case, may well have been written elsewhere and brought to the settlement after its foundation, cannot be used to fix for it a terminus a quo.

That the language of the settlement was Coptic, and that the majority, perhaps all, of the inhabitants possessed only the merest smattering of Greek, is established by several pieces of evidence. Such is the great preponderance of Coptic over Greek liturgical and theological MSS.; such the use of Coptic, not Greek, in all the letters and contracts discovered at Wadi Sarga; such, finally, the character of the documents in which Greek



No. 346

Scale roughly 1:4

was employed and the quality of the Greek there found. Greek, outside of one or two theological MSS., is almost, if not entirely, confined to receipts, accounts and mathematical tables. Greek was of course the language of mathematics, and alike in the tables and in the accounts (where the use of Greek in all taxation accounts, even under the early Arab Governors, would influence local usage) the knowledge of the language required was of the slightest; while in the receipts (where again the use of Greek was probably due to its employment in tax-receipts) the range of words and phrases which occur is extremely narrow.

Even so, the scribes of these ostraca, not excluding those who write a good and accomplished hand, show at every turn how very limited was their knowledge of Greek. The erratic spelling (e. g. axpicymaxoc, 206; γγημα^T, 210; MGK/ for μιχ(ρά), 248, etc.; ΓΑΜΙΑ/ for χαμήλ(ια), 297; CIAKOC for διαχόσια and TPIANTE for τριάχρυτα in 358; εκκηυτα εμκό for έξήχουτα έξ and ευμηντα ZENNEA for έβδομήχοντα έγγέα in 372 (1); the regular use of καμαλ/ for καμπλίτης): the heroic disregard of inflections (e.g. ckeya for σχεύη in 348; κωνιστανιτίος for -τίου in 369) and syntactical construction; the use of Coptic forms of proper names, like ECOP, ICOZANNIHC, MAKAPE, and of actual Coptic words, like the title пасон or нершм (205); and still more, perhaps, the occasional attempts to inflect Greek words on Coptic principles (see, e.g., 248, I, note) — all these phenomena reveal clearly the presence of writers who, though they had a smattering of Greek, thought at all times rather in Coptic and possessed, probably, a Greek vocabulary limited to the most necessary words.

These facts have a wider significance than may at first appear. It is impossible to study the Greek papyri of the 6th and 7th centuries without realizing that Greek was rapidly decaying in Egypt. The position may have been more favourable in the more cultivated metropoleis, like Oxyrhynchus, and still more in such centres of Hellenic culture as Ptolemais or Alexandria; but elsewhere (e. g. in the Syene papyri of P. Mon. and P. Lond. V)

⁽¹⁾ Cf. however A. Kircher, Lingua Aegyptiaca Restituta, p. 66, from which it appears that such forms were well established in the Coptic period.

Coptica. III.

it is difficult to find a scribe who could successfully negotiate a sentence of any length or complexity, while even at Oxyrhynchus or Antinoopolis the Greek used not only in letters but even in contracts was often very incorrect. Add to this the very large proportion of parties to contracts, even among the well-to-do, who are described as illiterate (which may sometimes mean merely that they could not write Greek), the increasing tendency to make use of Coptic not only in correspondence and theological literature, but even in legal transactions, and such facts as the inability of high ecclesiastics like Bishop Abraham of Hermonthis to understand Greek (P. Lond, 77, 69), and we may reasonably conclude that Greek was maintained in Egypt during the late Byzantine period largely, if not entirely, by the authority of the Government and its use as the legal and administrative language. That factor once removed with the Arab conquest, its ultimate extinction was assured, though the necessity which the Arabs felt of maintaining for a time the old Greek-trained and Greek-writing bureaucracy kept it in a sort of suspended animation for a century. The Wadi Sarga ostraca derive, for the Greek papyrologist, much of their interest from the illustrations which they furnish of the gradual death of Greek as a living language in the Egyptian γώρα.

IV. Metrology.

By H. I. Bell.

A noticeable feature of these texts, as of others at this date, is the number of measures, often unfamiliar or difficult to determine, which occur in them; and it seems well to bring these together in a separate section of the Introduction, though it is impossible to determine the capacity or the mutual relation of most of them. Often indeed it seems probable that the terms used refer not to ideal, standard, quantities, but to concrete vessels: so that the iuxtaposition of various measures does not furnish a basis for relating them to one another. Thus, in 320, 2 we get 40 μιχρά placed before 14 μεγάλα, an order which could hardly have been adopted had the μιχρόν been a quotient of the μέγα; and hence, when we find, e. g., in 204, 48 μεγάλα followed by 34 μιχρά we cannot conclude that the μέγα contained more than 34 μικρά, as, in the case of coins, we could infer from the sum νομίσματα ε κεράτια κη that the solidus contained over 23 carats. This conclusion seems to hold good even of the accounts. 122 and following, which at first sight might appear to furnish data for determining the mutual relations of the ὄργον, φορά, and xvidiov. So at least we may infer from the numbers which occur. Thus, in 122, I we get 717 cnidia following 65 of another measure, probably phorai, and it seems quite unlikely that the next highest measure to the *cuidion* contained over 717 of the latter. In 122, 14, 17, again, we get 46 phorai and in 123, 13 even 334 phorai; and since the phorai in these accounts are frequently preceded by goya, which, from their position, might be expected to be the next measure, this should mean that the coyov contained over 334 phorai, a most improbable supposition.

It is in fact probable, as stated, that in most, perhaps all, cases it is not ideal quantities but concrete vessels with which we are dealing; and if that is so there is no sure ground for

establishing a ratio between one measure and another. All that can be attempted here is to give a list of the less familiar measures which occur, with some notes on the evidence concerning each.

- 1. ἀσκαλώνιον. For measures of this kind see 196, note, Meyer, Ostr. Deissmann 65 introd. and references there, Wilcken, Grdzge. LXXI f., Archiv, VI 400 f., etc., and for the ἀσκαλώνιον in particular Wilcken, Archiv, V 297. See also B. M., index of Greek words. In the present volume it occurs as a measure of cheese (196, 198, 203) and apparently also of wine (237, where 2 ἀσκαλώνια follow 88 μικρά of wine; 275, where 56 ἀσκαλώνια follow 20 μεγάλα). There is here no evidence as to its capacity, except that it was clearly different from both the μέγα and the μικρόν.
- 2. ΓΑΜΙΑ/. See χαμήλιον.
- 3. Θαλλίον. See Ducange, s. v.; Apophth. Patrum (Migne, P. G. 65, 92 Β). Τοσαύτα έτη έμεινε μεθ' ήμων, καὶ μόνον θαλλίν σίτου έποιούμεν αὐτῶ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, with note there, Vita Arsenii, θαλλίον εν σίτου - δεί γάρ τοῖς πατριχοῖς τούτοις δνόμασι γρήσασθαι. As pointed out in the introduction to 205, it is in these texts and apparently elsewhere frequently used along with artabae of corn in a way suggesting that $1 \theta \alpha \lambda \lambda lov = 2$ artabae, though there are difficulties in this view. It is well therefore to collect the instances in the present volume: - In 189, where the Coptic invoice has "24 sacks (600YHE) of corn", the Greek recapitulation has θαλλία κδ, thus showing that in this case at all events θαλλίον = 600 γιιε. Now in 187 we have "36 sacks (600 γιιε) of corn, making a total of four score and five artabae". with Greek recapitulation, [YI/ OAA/] AS: CI/ APT/ NG. Here therefore 36 thallia = 85 artabae, giving the equation 1 thallion = (approximately) 2¹/₂ artabae. In 100 the text gives the sum of 148 artabae of corn, while below, after a space, occurs the amount early is a recapitulation, the ratio r thallion = 2 artabae again breaks down; but this is not certain. In 200 we have 32 thallia of dates, In 205-208 we have receipts with the formula $\theta \alpha \lambda \lambda(i\alpha) x \sigma i(\tau co)$ (ἀρτάβα!) γ; and here the ratio is throughout 1 thallion =

2 artabae. In 306 we have 41 thallia of dates, in 316 22 of the same, in 340 26 of an article the name of which is lost, in 360 $\theta \alpha \lambda(\lambda i\alpha)$ is with no article preceding (the article from the second place named is 18 artabae of corn), in 361 to thallia of an unspecified article, following $\gamma \alpha \mu i \lambda(i\alpha)$ θ , perhaps implying that 10 thallia = 9 camel-loads, in 362 to thallia following a lost number of camel-loads, in 365 $\sigma((\tau ou))$ [\$\delta] \rho[\tau(\tau\delta)] \rho \delta - \theta \delta \lambda(\lambda(\delta)) \gamma \delta (thallia) = 2 artabae), in 367 an uncertain number of thallia of barley, in 368 $\theta \alpha \lambda \lambda i\alpha \mu \delta \sigma(\tau)$ \$\delta \tau(\tau)\$ \$\de

We may probably conclude that $\theta \alpha \lambda \lambda i c \nu$ properly means a basket or sack (the $\theta \alpha \lambda \lambda i \nu$ appears to have been originally a basket made of palm leaves; Ducange, s. ν . $\theta \alpha \lambda i \alpha$. (1), which might be of various sizes, at least when used for corn, but that a standard size containing 2 artabae was so common that $\theta \alpha \lambda \lambda i c \nu$ came eventually to be a definite measure of capacity. In these ostraca it is used sometimes in this latter sense, sometimes as — sack or basket, always as a dry measure. The form found in Coptic texts is usually $\theta \lambda \lambda \lambda i c$ or $\theta \lambda \lambda i c$, but the Greek appears to be $\theta \alpha \lambda \lambda i c \nu$ or (in popular usage) $\theta \alpha \lambda \lambda i \nu$ ($\theta \alpha \lambda i \nu$); hence we have adopted in the translations the forms thallion, thallia.

4. Καμήλιον. Also written ΓΑΜΙΑ/ (297, 31; 361, 2) and ΚΑΜΙΑ/ (362, 2). For the full form see 370, 5, 6, which shows that we should throughout read not κάμηλοι, but καμήλια; cf. 211, 6, κΑΜ/ ειι, where the neuter numeral points in the same direction. The sense is virtually "camel-load", and so, for convenience, we have translated the word, but probably the actual meaning is throughout simply "camel" (cf. 129). There is no evidence that καμήλιον was used as a conventional measure; the reference is always to the concrete load; but doubtless this would in practice tend to contain a fairly uniform

⁽¹⁾ One Scala (Kircher 136) has OAAIC (sic leg.) as a saddle cloth or sack of course flax, = khaishah. In Arabic talis is a corn sack. It is also a measure = 12 modii according to Kircher, 143.

quantity, and these ostraca contain some data on the point. Thus, in 211, 24 cnidia are apparently one xauthliov; in 361. 3 the meaning is verhaps (but this is doubtful) that 10 thallia = 9 καμήλια (in 362, where the same phrase recurs, the number of xauthia is lost); and in 370 we apparently have 4 καμήλια to 100 cnidia, which agrees very well with 211. and 6 καμήλια to 9 thallia of vegetable seed (cf. 361 above). In PREISIGKE, S.-B. 1981, we should probably read (πρώτης) σορ(α) χουκλ(ια) έχτὸ εἰς οἴνου ξ(έστας) ρξ, which gives 20 xestae to the load. If Wessely is correct (as he seems to be; see under AA2H below) in reckoning the xviôiov as = "ca. 5 Xestes" (Stzsb. Wien. Akad. CXLIX, 5, p. 28; see WILCKEN, Grdzge., LXXII 1), that would give only 4 cnidia to the load, which does not at all accord with 211. In PSI. IV 307, 4-8 we have the number of camel-loads followed by the amount of wine in ayy(sīa): but only in 1. 4 are both numerals preserved, viz. 3 loads to 48 ἀγγεῖα. (In l. 9 καμμα/ is not followed by a numeral and ought perhaps to be extended xaunk((του)).

- 5. Κνίδιον. For measures of this kind, among them this, see the references cited for ἀσκαλώνιον above, and for ανίδιον in particular see 164, note. A common measure for wine, which is the only substance for which it is used in the present collection. In 126 we have big and little cnidia, and μικρά κνίδια also occur in 370, 3. In the accounts, 121 and following, cnidia regularly come last, as if they were the smallest measure. For the capacity see under καμήλιον. See too below, under λλ2Η, μικρόν and φορά.
- 6. Κόλλαθον. See Wilcken, Ostr. I 764, Hultsch, Metr. Scr. Index, Il 185 ("habet 25 sextarios") and I 264, P. Lond. IV 1414, 25 n. It frequently occurs as a dry measure (P. Lond. IV index; 197, cheese, where 8 collatha = 4 41P, "baskets"), but was also used for liquids (ἔξος in Wilcken, l. c.; in 136 perhaps wine; in 91 "fill their kolathe (?) with oil"). In 136 not only collatha (throadec) but little collatha (ογκογί πολα-οξε) occur.
- 7. Κόλοβ(ον?) Only in 381, 2 and 3, and quite obscure. Qu. for κολοσώνιου?

- 8. Κολοφώνιον. See references cited under ἀσκαλώνιον. WILCKEN (Archiv VI 400 and refs.) gives the capacity as 5 διπλα. In the present volume 373, 3 (wine) is a possible instance; see too the preceding measure.
- 9. Κούρι. See Wilcken, Ostr. I 763; Crum, Copt. MSS., no. 54, an account of πούρα, has numbers of πούρια up to 860, and Short Texts, 440 up to 232. Preisigke, S.-B. 1960 has είνου μιπρ(ὰ) πούρια ζ, following μ(ε)γ(άλα) λαη κὸ. In the present volume only in 343, 3; probably for wine, to judge from the measures with which it is associated.
- 10. Λάκον οτ λάκκον. Perhaps from λάκκος, which in Anal. Bolland. 1909, p. 19, is used to mean a place where corn is stored; but there may be a connexion with λάγυνος, for λάκον is regularly a wine measure; see 90, 136 (probably wine), 213, 216, 347; cf. Wessely, Studien, XX, 196, 3. In 90 it follows φερά ("2 ph., 12 l. of old wine"). In 136 it is associated with έργον, κόλλαθον, small κόλλαθον, and hots; in 213 with μεγάλα and μικρά (so too 216); in 343 with χνίδιον and κοῦρι; in 347 with χνίδιον, μεγάλα and μικρά. On occasion it is not impossible it may = μέγα; see 216, 5 n.
- 11. ΑΑΚΟΟΤΕ. See 164, note, where it is pointed out (from B. M. 1064) that it = χνίδιον (see also under ΑΑ2Η below). It is a measure of wine, specially associated with Middle Egypt.
- 12. AA2H or AAH. Usually a wine measure, but in 87 used for pickle; "fill 2 lahê with pickle and give 5 xestes of pickle to the lahê, that is 10 xestes." A lahê then contains 5 xestae, which, according to Wessely (see above, under χνίδιον), is the capacity of the χνίδιον. Krall (see CCXXXIV) shows AA2H = χνίδιον; 87 thus confirms this, and suggests that AAKOOTE, also used as equivalent to χνίδιον, is either identical with AA2H or at times confused with it. The explanation of such confusions may perhaps lie in the existence of large and small measures of various kinds, as with the χνίδιον (above) and AA2H. In 167 we have small AA2H (ΠΚΟΥΙ ΠΑΑ2Η), rendered in Greek by μιχ(ρά); so too in 168, 169 and 171; in 170 ΠΑΑ2H occurs without the πΚΟΥΙ and is nevertheless expressed in Greek as μιχ(ρά). Normally, then, μιχρόν and

- ανίδιον may be taken as Greek equivalents of λλ2Η, whereas μέγα represents φορά (see below, s. ν.). In Preisigke, S.-B. 1960, however, we get $\mu(\varepsilon)\gamma(\acute{\alpha}\wedge\alpha)$ λάη, side by side with μ ιαρ(ἀ) αούρ(ια) ζ; in 1969 we have λάη εξ without the μ εγάλα, accompanying 334 ∂ ιπλᾶ.
- 13. MAAXE. See CRUM, C. O. 165, where it is pointed out that maaje = μάτιον, for which see P. Lond. V, pp. 157—158. A dry measure, used in the present collection for corn (86, 140), dates (106, 141), and lentils (89); the article is unnamed, or its name is lost, in 129 (perhaps corn?), 132, 162, 164.
- 14. μέγα. A frequent wine measure in these texts (especially in the Greek or semi-Greek receipts), and it also occurs in Hengstenberg, Kopt. Papyri (München, J. Rosenthal, 1914), 1, 2, 3. In 167 it corresponds to morphic in the Coptic; so too 171. In 173, on the contrary, the Greek recapitulation has φορ/; and in 123, 10, 12, 13 me/, which must stand for μεγάλα, follows φ(ορά); in l. 12 it is followed by ει[πλ/, which in l. 14 is followed by χνίδια), itself in ll. 15 and 16 following ὅργα. In 275 we have ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/: Κ ΑΚΚΑΛΟΝΕ: ΝΙ. As already remarked above, there are instances of μεγάλα χνίδια and μεγάλα λάη, which, as λα2Η = χνίδιον, are identical; and in 137 we have "large vessels" (ΝΟΟ ΝΕΚΕΟΥΕ). See also below, under φορά.
- 15. Μέτρον. Here only in 348 (wine), where the reading is very uncertain; the other measures named are the σκεῦος, the φορά, and the μιχρόν. It is very frequent in P. Lond. IV, where it regularly contains 10 xestae, except in one account (1415), where for vinegar it contains only 8; for oil and εψημα it contains 10 èven there.
- 16. Μικρόν. Very frequent in these texts, like μέγα. As already remarked (under λαγιι) it = λαγιι οτ μικρόν λαγιι and therefore κνίδιον, though a μέγα κνίδιον also occurs. Cf. too 347.
- 17. MOIA2 Only in 186, 4, where see the note and references cited
- 18. MOP/. Only in 374, where see the note. It is not likely to be connected with μόργιον (μέτρον γῆς) in Hultsch, Metr. Scr. I 322.
- 19. OING. See P. Lond. V, pp. 158—159. Here it occurs in 89 (dates, 2), 92 (corn, 4), 129 (article unnamed; maaje also

- occurs; in l. 1 "1 oipe and a half-tenth", which may possibly indicate an artaba on a decimal system), 140 (cucumbers, 3; maaje also occurs), 191 ("19 artabae of fodder, less 1 oipe, and 19 artabae of barley, less 2 oipe").
- 20. "Οργον or ὅργανον. See 196, note; = λάκον and κοῦφον. In 196 and 198 as a dry measure (in both cases cheese; in 196, 16 org. followed by 6 ascalonia, in 198, 16 asc., 8 org. and a large hots); but in 122 and 123 it occurs several times as a wine measure, along with phora and cnidion, regularly coming first; the highest number is 74 (123, 16), and the highest number of phorai following org. is 10 (122, 4; in 122, 11, etc., where ὅργ. does not occur, we get numbers of φορ. up to 46, and in 123, 13, 334 φορ. occur).
- 21. Σιπλούν. In full in 164, 9; abbreviated cinλ/ in 123, 12, 14, 17. In 164 it is a measure of pickle, in 123 of wine. It is identified, no doubt rightly, by M. C. Kuentz with the Lat simpulum or simplum.
- 22. Σκεύςς. See 137, 2 f., NO6 NCKGOYG IA, "14 large vessels"; 275, 5, CKGYG NIZALOM: G, "5 pots of cheese"; 348, 2, 5, where 15 CKGYA (sic) of wine occur; 351, 3, 5, where 24 CKGYG of an unspecified article, probably wine, occur along with 4 phorai. In 137 it is the vessels themselves that are in question, but in the other cases the word is used as if it were a definite measure. Probably the reference is to concrete vessels, but there may have been standard sizes. A μέγ(α) σχ(εῦςς) probably occurs in 156.
- 23. Φορ(ά). In the Coptic texts written φορος (89, 8; 90, 2; 173, 4), φορης (92, 10; 167, 7; 171, 3; 172, 5; 178, 1), or φορος (186, 6, 8); in the Greek always abbreviated, φ/ or φορ/. Despite the endings oc, ης, or ες, it seems preferable to connect the word with φορά; it may have meant originally "load" and then come to denote a definite measure. This is supported by the fact that in 90 φορος and in 92 φορης are feminine. In Krall V, 15 we get ΓΙ/ φορ/ ΔηΠ ΔηΘ Δ/ κε, which Krall renders "Lasten (φορ/) 1980 zu je Litrae 25"), which, if φορά is there used, as here, of a measure, gives us the capacity, viz. 25 litrae. In 186, where

we have 21 ph. of "sorouton wine" and 10 of new wine, the writer adds: "and add 10 xestes of ... wine to each one": so that the φορά presumably was larger than 10 xestae. The ξέστης contained 17/r. litrae (P. Lond. V, p. 156). As stated above (s. ν . μ éya), in 167 and 171 ϕ ophc = μ éya, but in 123, 10, 12, 13, $\varphi(op\alpha)$ is mentioned along with $\mu \dot{\varepsilon}(\gamma \alpha)$. In the accounts 122-125 we find it along with the ögyov, the χνίδιον, and (exceptionally) the μέγα and the σιπλοῦν: it regularly comes after opyov and before xvidiov; the highest number of gopai, where opya precede, is 10 (122, 4), where opya do not occur, 46 (122, 11, etc.), or, in 123, 13, even 334. In 121 cooal alone are used: the highest number is 30. Elsewhere we find the copá associated with the lakon (90, 2 ph., 12 l.), the small lahê (167, 12 l., 8 ph.; 171, 3 ph., 15 l.; 172, 8 ph., 12 l.; 173, 1 ph., 1 l.), the cnidion (320, 73 cnid... 12 ph.), the σχεύος, the μέτρον, and the μιχρόν (348, 15 σχ., 16 μέτ., 62 φ., 1 μιχ.), the orgon (350, 20 o., 1 ph.), and the GREDGE alone (351, 24 GR., 4 ph.). In 210 we perhaps find 24 phorai "in 96 jars (κάδει)".

We may probably conclude that $\varphi \circ \varphi \alpha$ is normally, but not always, equivalent to the $\mu \acute{e} \gamma \alpha$ (cf. too 216, where $\mu \acute{e} \gamma \alpha$ perhaps $= \lambda \acute{a} \times \lambda \circ \nu$); and in that case the $\mu \acute{e} \gamma \alpha$ can perhaps not be identified with the $\mu \acute{e} \gamma \alpha$ xxidiov, as xxidiov regularly occurs along with the $\varphi \circ \varphi \acute{a}$, and once (123, 12) with the $\varphi \circ \varphi \acute{a}$ and the $\mu \acute{e} \gamma \alpha$. Probably, however, in these cases, the $\mu \times \lambda \circ \nu$ is meant; and it may be inferred that xxidiov alone is to be taken as $= \mu \times \lambda \circ \nu$

The $\varphi \circ \rho \alpha$, in these texts, is always used for wine, except in 92, where it is used for salt fish and vinegar.

24. 20TC. See CRUM, C. O. 348. Chiefly a wine measure; 91, 106, 162, 179, 344; in 136 among vessels associated with wine. In 186 for vinegar and pickle, in 198 for cheese; in 177 the article is uncertain. In Ryl. Copt. 347 for beans. In C. O. 348, note, for vinegar and salt. In 91 the word is used not as a measure but of a vessel ("fill... their hots with old wine"). In 106 we have "2 small hots", in 198 "a large hots".



FRAGMENTS OF LITERARY MANUSCRIPTS

The excavations produced, from various points in the site, a large number of remnants of papyrus and parchment manuscripts of all sorts. Unfortunately, with few exceptions, they are now but the minutest of scraps and only those in which anything of interest was to be discerned are noticed here. The total of parchment fragments was considerable and represents some 25 volumes, perhaps from the monastic library, perhaps partly from the abodes of private owners. The dates of the various hands may range from the early 5th to the early 7th centuries. The Coptic fragments are all now in the Oriental Department of the British Museum, under the inventory number Or. MS. 9035.

Biblical.

r. Job. (Coptic.)

A narrow strip, cut from a double leaf and showing parts of some verses of Job (XXX 8, 9; 17, 18), written in a 5th cent. uncial. These few words are of considerable importance: they testify to a distinct Fayyûmic version of the book and moreover to that variety of the dialect, hitherto extant in only one specimen(1), which used the verbal prefix 2A-, 2AK- etc., instead of A-, AK-. Here is the text of the larger part:

⁽¹⁾ Brit. Mus. 521 (cf. Aeg. Z. 1898, 139, ib. 1915, 113).

⁽²⁾ Cf. Boh. ΔΝΟΚ ΕΤΟΙ ΝΧΗΙ, θρύλλημα.

verso 17] 2AHAKEC POX2 (1)

B]OA' EBAA

18 6]AM' 2A4+ TAT4

[NTACTO]AH

The text on the smaller side of the double leaf (not identified) is:

recto(?) π4co[verso(?) εβ]λλ Μπμογ ογ[π∞[

2. Psalms. (Coptic.)

A complete leaf of fine parchment, 14×11.5 cm., shows Psalms LI 9 to LIII title, in one column of 19 lines. The hand is rather heavy, resembling in type that of Cod. Bezae (6th cent.). The few variants from Budge's text are unimportant, except for kaece (LII 5), in place of keec: a strange plural, unparalleled in other dialects (2). The title of Ps. LIII agrees with the MSS. of LAGARDE and WESSELY, as against those of Budge and Worrell.

3. Isaiah. (Coptic.)

The last fragment from the Old Testament is a small leaf whereon verses from the beginning of *Isaiah* LXVI are legible. The hand is of the rounded, "Coptic" type.

4. St. John. (Coptic.)

The New Testament claims the most extensive of all the fragments: 11 more or less complete leaves, each 14×12 cm., paged [$\overline{6}$] to $\overline{15}$ and $\overline{A\Gamma}$, \overline{AA} . They show John 1 20 to III 2, IV 39 to 47, written in two columns of 19—21 lines each. The hand is an uneven uncial, with a mixture of square and rounded forms (in A, A, M, γ) and probably of the 6th century, v. PL. I. The following are the variants from HORNER's text: — I 26

⁽¹⁾ The semi-Achm. Elias Apoc. p. 128 writes PWX2, while Deut. Vll 25 (BUDGE), Sir. XXVIII 23 show POXOY, as do Achm. texts often.

⁽²⁾ The MS. reads XEPE IIKAECE : BOA. Elsewhere the punctuation is normal, so that KAEC E BOA would be improbable.

анок ми, чаге де ератч, панитшти етети-. 27 ечину. 28, ептаущипе, пма. 33 гноумооу, жеет (sic.). 49 непнау гар. 40 om. ауш ауоуагоу исшч. 42 ауш ачитч. 47 ауш пежач, пиаме. 48. а \overline{ic} оушщв ечжш ммос иач. 11 7 аумагоу егран ерооу. 8 ауш ауение. 9 мнооу, парх. де. 12 минеченну. 13 вшк еө. 19 анок $\frac{1}{7}$ иа-. 20 пежау иау. 24 гшв иім. 25 етвинтч. IV 39 ачжш ероі. 41 пістеуе ероч. 42 неужшбе, еппістеуебе ані. 44 мипроф., граі м-. 45 om. пе. 46 нереоувас.

5. St. John. (Greek.)

Ostracon. 2 fragments. Complete. Joh. II 1. The writer has first made an unsuccessful attempt at the text and then repeated it, rather less inaccurately. As he was obviously more at home in Coptic than in Greek the verse is here printed in Coptic type. The Greek, correctly written, is καὶ τῆ ἡμέρα τῆ τρίτη γάμος ἐγένετο ἐν Κανᾶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ ἦν ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐκεῖ. The placing of ἐκεῖ immediately after ἦν may be due to the accidental omission of ἡ . . . Ἰησοῦ or be a textual variant (not noted by von Soden). Of course, even in the latter case, this ostracon cannot be treated as a textual authority.

2 каї ти ати ти тртин камос к 2 каї ти имера ти тріти гамос єтєлето $\overline{11}$ гаміа өнс калілаїа каї ин ексі 2. етелето: sic.

6. St. John. (Coptic.)

A small fragment of the same Gospel, XX 31 to XXl 2, is written in 2 columns of a rounded hand, much like the "Coptic" hand of the Freer Psalter. Variants from Horner are: XXI 1 om. 6BOA. 2 ACIG.

7. St. John. (Coptic.)

Yet another MS. of 4 broken leaves gives us XXI 7 to the end of this Gospel. The text is palimpsest, the earlier writing, legible on the last page, showing ch. I 31—33 of the same Gospel. The script is a small, square uncial, entirely without superlineation and probably of the 6th century. Its

variants are: — 7 etepeic. 8 2mmxol, 2autbt. 11 ae for 6e. 15 om. 1161 ic and 620yeiial. 17 kcooyii. 20 teumect2ht. 22 om. 11tok (2°). 23 om. 6e. 24 11tou 11611tau-. 25 after it a dividing line; then ney[attealon etc. The verso of the last leaf is blank.

8. Acts. (Coptic.)

The scribe of the last MS. undoubtedly wrote also a copy of Acts, whereof we have the last leaf, with XXVIII 26 to the end. But the dimensions of the two MSS. differ so undeniably (width here 9.5 cm., there 11 cm., with consequent divergence in the relative situation of the columns), that it is doubtful whether the two fragments can be from the same volume. The leaf is palimpsest, the legible older text being John I 31 to 33. The following are the variants from Budge's print(1): — 26 upgrood unarphiciaace xe-. 31 happheia mm. Subscr. nead.

9. I Corinthians. (Greek.)

Brit. Mus. Pap. 2240. Of this vellum MS. only a few fragments remain, all of them for the most part discoloured and shrivelled, so that only comparatively few letters retain their original size and clearness. Fortunately most of the fragments can be identified as coming from two leaves, which contain, the first, part of chap. 12 (with, probably, the end of 11), the second, part of chap. 14. Leaf 1 in its present state is made up of five fragments, leaf 2 of two. Each page contains two columns, so that there are four to each leaf. The vellum being so much shrivelled, it is impossible to state the exact original dimensions of the leaves, neither of which, moreover, is quite complete; but they may be stated roughly as probably about 15×15 cm. The average width of the column seems to have been about 4 cm. or a little more.

The hand is a good regular upright uncial of medium size, with distinction of light and heavy strokes; the individual letters, when not distorted by the shrivelling of the vellum, are well

⁽¹⁾ Coptic Bibl. Texts p. 269.

formed, and of fairly uniform size, except at the ends of lines, where they are not infrequently smaller than the average in order to fit them into the line, though even so the ends of lines are not very well aligned. There are no accents; the high or middle point occurs two or three times. The hand is not likely to be later than the 5th century but on the other hand seems later than the Vaticanus and the Sinaiticus, regularly assigned to the 4th. Probably the MS. may be assigned with some confidence to the 5th century. The number at the top of fragm. 2a is by a different hand, and may well be later.

The number just referred to is that of the folio or page. or perhaps even the quire, but it is not easy to determine which. If it refers to the page we should expect a number to occur on each page, though this is not essential; but as a matter of fact there are no certain traces of ink at the top of any of the other pages. Were it certain that no number occurred on either side of fragm, I we might perhaps conclude that PMZ is the number of the quire; but this would indicate a very long MS., which is not specially likely in view of the size of the page, and the vellum is so much damaged that it is really impossible to say whether other numbers did or did not occur. In any case the number affords some indication as to the nature of the codex. Fragm. 2 contained roughly ten verses of chapter 14. Up to and including XIV 18 there are 333 verses in the Epistle. If we take (as we fairly may do) this leaf as more or less representative of all and verses 19-28 as of more or less average length, this means that about 33 leaves are required for the preceding portion of the Epistle. Clearly then, even if we take PMZ as the number only of the page a good deal more then I Cor. must have been contained in the codex. It may be added that p seems certain, so that though mz are not beyond doubt no alternative reading of these two letters would affect this conclusion.

The character of the MS. is fairly good. The orthography is marred by the common confusion of ι: cι and є: λι, but mere blunders are not common. Such are probably cγμφοροι for cγμφοροι in 38 f. (though this may be a genuine, unrecorded, variant), гинсоє in l. 89, and ο ι^C in l. 98; perhaps too про-

Coptica III. 3

3₄ TEXTS.

necωn in l. 124 f., but more probably that reading, if correct (see note), is a genuine variant, as to turn necωneninpocωπον (or eninpocωπονησεων?) into προπεσων requires greater carelessness than this scribe normally shows, unless indeed unusually narrow columns be supposed in his archetype: —

ссои сопои спіпро

As is usually the case with the papyrus or vellum MSS. found in Egypt, the text is of a somewhat eclectic character. The collation here given is with the text of (von) S(oden), whose symbols, though not yet generally adopted, are therefore used. It may be explained that K stands for the zoivi, or Antiochene recension, H for the Egyptian recension (Hesychius), and I for the Palestinian recension (Pamphilus-Eusebius, at Jerusalem). The types of the last-named are distinguished as a, b and c, subdivided by numbers, 1, 2, 3. B appears as $\delta 1$, 8 as $\delta 2$, and A as $\delta 4$. For the other numbers reference must be made to von Soden.

In one or two cases (II. 49, 127 f.) our text agrees with K against H and many of I, but its general affinities are neither with K nor with H, but with I, and in particular with I^{a1} . It fairly often agrees with 1026 (D, Claromontanus) and 1028 (G, Dresden, Kgl. Bibl. A. 145b), but at other times differs from them. On the whole, however, it may be reckoned as approaching most nearly to von Soden's type I^{a1} . Genuine variants not recorded in S. are II. 54 (TWH THEYMATCH), 89 (FINHCHE, but see above), 98 (AIO), 115 (uncertain); and perhaps 38 f. (CYMPOPON) and 124 f. (nponecum); but it will be seen that none of these is absolutely certain.

Fragment 1 a.]

Col. 1.

Col. 2.

1 ΜΑΤΙ . . . [
2 ϢΤΙ . . . [

[14 lines too much defaced for any confident reading.]

[12 lines too much defaced for any confident reading.]

12. 2 17 ληλιομέψοι3 ΑΙΟ Γψωρείζω Υμείν οτι ογ 22 Δ. 12 Δ

7 ЕКАСТО ДЕ ДІД[О]ТАІ Н фанеросіс тоу пис прос то сум

1 b.]

Col. I.

| iywyian ên [ia]
| en ia yila uni
| γοιος [ιναςεας]
| γοιος [νηγα γ]ε
| γοιος [γηγα γ]

20 ЧЕ ВИБЬСНИЕУ
 21 ЧЕ ВИБЬСНИЕУ
 22 ЧЕ ВИБЬСНИЕУ
 23 ЧЕ ВИБЬСНИЕУ
 24 ЧЕ ВИБЬСНИЕУ
 25 ЕВ ТЕВМ СЕИН ГУМС
 26 СМИ УУУМ ЧЕ ВР
 27 МЕНТЕР
 28 МЕНТЕР
 29 МЕНТЕР
 20 МЕ

ΑΥΤΟ ΠΝΙ Άλ[ΛΟ]

Col. 2.

11 Cω[n] ΠΑΝΤΆ ΔΕ

ΤΑ[ΎΤΑ] ΘΝΕΡΓΕΙ

60 [ΤΟ ΕΝ Κ]ΑΙ ΤΟ ΑΎΤ[Ο]

[ΠΝΑ Δ]ΙΑΙΡΟΎΝ

[ΕΚΑCΤ]Φ ΚΑΘΦ[C]

12 [ΒΟΎΛΕ]ΤΑΙ ΚΑΘΑ

64 [ΠΕΡ Γ]ΑΡ, Τ[Ο Cω]ΜΑ

[4 lines lost.]

[.] [

70 EN ECT![N CWMA]

OYTWC [KAI O XC]

13 KAI LAP [EN UNI]

ÜÄNT[EC HMEIC]

EIÇ EN CWMA

75 EBANTIÇOHME

EITE IOYAAIOI

3*

Fragment 2a.]

14. 19-20 82 [€N FAWCCH] A

ì

Col. 1.

Col. 2.

PMZ

[5 lines lost.]

[Ψεγφοι] Μίτ μν[ι]

[AA TH KA]KIA NH [NIAZETE] TAIC

Ας [φρεςι τελιοι]

90 [FE]FAN[TAL OTI]

CAIC KAI EII XEI

ACCIN CTC[P]OIL

95 TOYTO KA[I OYAE]

[п]инс[ее еи иомф]

 $[\varepsilon]$ N $[\varepsilon T]$ ep[AIC ΓA] ψC

[XAX]HCW T[W]AX]W

ГУІУ ЦІИЄЈСӨУІ

85 [TAIC OPEC]IN AA

[Πω?] GICX[ΚΟΥCΟΝ]
[Τλ]! ΜΟΥ [λΘΓΘ!]
22 [? Ο] IC ΔΙ[Ο ΔΙ ΓΛωC]
CAI [GIC CH]MGI[ON]

фн<u>те</u>іў о[А тоіс] ў теАоАсій [у]ўў[у <u>т</u>]оіс теАоАсій [у]ўў[у <u>т</u>]оіс ем [еце енійўў[он]

πιςτοις [λλ]λλ τ[οις]
23 105 πιςτς[γυσλ]φι η σκκλ[ηςιλ] όλη σμι
οχιι ς[λησν]φι η η η γνως
καν (η και παίι γνως

ОДІ МУ[INEC]ӨУ[I]

КУІ ІЎІМДЎІ Н ЎШІС

110 СУІС ЄІСЁЎӨМСІ Ў[Є]

24 GAN A.G NANTEC

2 b./

Col. I.

Col. 2.

115 [ΠΡΟ]ΦΗ[Τ IC][ΘΑΘ]Η ΑΘ [ΤΙC ΑΠΙC][ΤΟC] Η ΪΑΙΦ[ΤΗC Θ]ΑΘ[ΓΧΘΤΑ]Ι ΥΠΟ

π[αντωτι α]τιακρι

120 [NETE Y] ΠΟ ΠΑΝ 25 [Τ] ϢΝ ΤΑ ΚΡΥΠΤΑ [Τ] Η[C] Κ[ΑΡ] ΔΙΑC ΑΥΤΟΥ ΦΑΝΕ[ΡΑ] ΓΕΙΝΕΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ Ο[ΥΤω] C ΠΡΟ [5 lines lost.]

Π[Δ1ΙΤΆ ΠΡΟΟ ΟΙ]
140 ΚΟΔ[ΟΜΗΙΊ ΓΕΙ]
27 ΝΕΟ[ΘΟ ' ΕΙΤΕ]
ΓΛΟΟ[CH ΤΙΟ ΛΑ]
ΑΕΙ ΚΑ[ΤΑ ΑΥΟ Η]

152 цёс́[Фи ць]оскУ́.	ŢO	Π Α[
і́ніċ[і тФ] ө <u>Ф</u> У	145	MEP]QC[
<u>υγ</u> ἰἰε[ΥΥΦ]ή ὁἰὶ [0]		∆ 1€рмн]Ν€γ[€]
[$\overline{ ext{ec}}$] оит ω [$\overline{ ext{c}}$] еи γ	28 [тс	мн н [ер] н н [ер]
26 MIN ECTIN TO \overline{Y}		ινє]γ[тнс с ι]
130 естін адеафоі		ĹѼ €И €ККУ[Н]
[о]дуй с[Л]йеьхис	150 CIA	εγλια γέ γγ
ое [екас]тос фаа		IТ]ω каι <u>т</u> [ω θ ω]
MON 6X6I ΔΙΔλ		о]фнтаі де д[үо]

Col. 2.

Fragment 3a.]

Col. I.

	•]сшия . , , , ,	 수[이[
	155] Ķ c	ϵ [
	•		
3 b.J			
		Col. 1.	Col. 2.
]AC	[
	ιóο] · eim	пео .[
].	

- 1. Judging from the average number of letters, this passage, reckoned backwards from l. 17, should occur about 11.32—33, but the traces do not appear to suit this. MA seems practically certain and TI is a quite likely reading. MATI suggests πνευ ματιχών, 12. 1, but that is too near ἀπαγόμενοι to be possible. The ωΤΙ of l. 2 is much less clear than MATI.
- 20. [AIC: there is not room for AGIC. $\Theta\overline{\gamma}$: the γ is very doubtful.

- 33—36. A very perplexing passage. The readings in II. 34—36, though doubtful in details (see below), are fairly certain as a whole; hence in I. 33 we ought to have O AG AYTOC OC; but KAI is practically certain, and KAI O AYTOC OC seems ruled out by the almost equally clear TA.
- 34. εςτιπ: or εςτι; the π is excessively doubtful, but εςτ is reasonably certain. For this position S. quotes $H^{\delta_1 78}$. S. δ δὲ αὐτὸς [ἐστὶν] θεὸς ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα.
 - 35. חג[כו]: very doubtful, especially the גּ.
- 36. AIA[0]TAI: all the dotted letters are excessively doubtful, and it is not certain that any letters occur after the lacuna; but in Il. 37, 38 the letters at the end are very faint, and traces are probably to be recognized here.
- 38f. cγμφοροη: S. συμφέρον. cγμφοροη, which is not recorded by S., is probably a scribal error rather than a genuine variant.
- 47. [AAA ω]: there is not room for $\delta \xi$ (S.). A ϵ om. by Mp I^{a_1} 1026 ff it vg arm.

though sufficient for two letters, is small for three, unless they were very much cramped, and it may be suspected that xapicm[a] (so too Mp it vg) was the actual reading here. It may be added that the dotted letters are all very indistinct, but there seems no reason to doubt the readings given.

- 48. GII: very indistinct and consequently doubtful.
- 49. AYTO: so Kh $\Omega \rho$ Ku K against most (excl., inter alia, $\partial 2$, $\partial 3^{\circ}$) H, many I^a it vg $\Delta i \partial B\alpha \sigma$.; S. évi. After $\pi i \pi$ there seems to be a small space; hence there may have been a point.
- 52. AG (so S.) after and om. also by Mp $H^{5\,1\,78}$ $I^{a\,1\,1026ff}$ it vg K λ Bag.

проф[нтіа]: there is probably not room for тега.

- 53. At (so S.) after AAAW om. also by the authorities mentioned in note on l. 52, except $B\alpha\sigma$, and by arm.
- 54. [Τ]ω[1] τιν[ΜΑ]Των: S. πνευμάτων, and no variant is recorded. Here the ω seems almost certain, and though the remaining dotted letters are all extremely doubtful it is difficult

to see what else can be read, though the exact form of the abbreviation may be open to question.

- 55. At (so S.) after every om, also by Mp $H^{\delta I-2*378\delta356}$ I^{aI} 1026 ff it vg Kh.
 - 56. Ac: so S.; om. Mp $H^{\delta 356}$ I^{a1} 1026* it vg. arm.
- 58 f. παντά Δε τά[Υτά]: so S.; many authorities (incl. 1026 ff) have τάγτα Δε πάντα.
- 62. S. ἐἐἰᾳ ἐκάστῳ. There is not room for both here. The very slight trace visible suits ω better than λ , and the space is strongly in favour of [ekact] ω , omitting iaia (so I^{a_1} io26ff c_1 158 it vg sy^p Ω p Aθ ^{2:2} Βασ Επιφ), rather than [iai] λ , omitting ekact ω (so I^{a_1} 1066).
- 69. We should expect [τ]ος πο[λλλ οπτλ] but this is impossible, as is also τογ 6]|[N]ος πο[λλλ (see S.), but [π]ολλ[λ is perhaps possible. This however gives a very short line.
- 72. Considerations of space make it likely that ϵ_{11} was omitted before ϵ_{11} , as also in I^{a_1} I^{a_2} I^{a_3} I^{a_4} I^{a_4}
- 73. So, for HMEIC HANTEC (S.), $I^{a2\ 367}$ vg. But the reading is excessively doubtful, and HMEIC cannot be regarded as impossible.
- 87—89. The readings are not certain. S. has ταῖς δὲ φρεσὶν τέλειοι γίνεσθε, but quotes from I^{a_1} 1028 f it the reading hia taic... Γενημοθε. Here him seems impossible, and taic is extremely probable; but in l. 89 h seems certain. The space however seems insufficient for re and rather too large to suppose that τελιοι recame in l. 88; hence we may perhaps read ri, and the whole passage is a conflation of the S. text and the variant, with the alteration of ren. to rin.
- 89. En nome: there is not room for En Tw nome, and a word must have been omitted, no doubt by an oversight. Of the two, considerations of space favour $\tau \omega$.
- 91. As letters (even the same letters) vary somewhat in breadth, we may, in view of the certain CAIC, read [GT]GP[AIC ΓA] ωC (so $I^{\alpha I}$ IO28 f it vg), rather than suppose an erroneous [GT]GP[OTA] $\omega CCAIC$, though OTA is slightly better suited to the space.

- 95 f. KA[I OYACHO]: S. XZÌ CỦƏ CỦTWE, and since the fragment containing, in col. 1, the number PMZ and, in col. 2, ll. 96—8, is detached from the rest, it is not possible to say for certain that that was not the reading here; but OYA OY would certainly have made l. 95 project into the margin, and TWC in l. 96 would indicate a lacuna difficult to fill in l. 97, since TA would be too short and COUTA (no other division is likely) too long. For OYACHW S. quotes I^{a_1} 1028f (ggf). The same authorities, with Θ 07, read EICAKOYCETAI, and in l. 97 CETA, as against TWC in l. 96, would be more manageable than COUTA, but on the whole the readings in the text seem the most likely.
- 98. Very puzzling. S., who has λέγει κύριος. ὥστε αἱ γλῶσσαι, quotes no variants to either reading; so that the text here given involves two unrecorded variants, one of them an obvious blunder, but it seems difficult to escape from it, as all the letters ic at are practically certain; κc does not seem possible. Alo, though not recorded, is an easy variant; o ic might arise from the scribe's misunderstanding an abbreviated gloss giving a reference to HC(NIAC).
- 103. The traces read e_1 are very faint; of the x at the end very little remains. Between it and o there is a piece of vellum, but the traces which are visible are too indistinct for any reading. Several of the readings of individual letters in ll. 104 and 105 are doubtful, but the text seems established. $\pi_{1075209319}$ is the reading of S.; $I^{a_1}_{1028}$ vg have nictors.
- 106. OVII: the letters are not perfectly clear, but 0 seems certain. This involves the reading given in the text (so S.) as against $I^{a_1 \text{ 1028f}^2}$ etc., which omit ovii and $I^{b_2 \text{ $260}}$, which have cyheicexon.
- 109 f. The K reading, against most of the H MSS. and $I^{a_{1}}$ 1026 ff etc., is fawcaic asswers.
- 110. Most of the dotted letters are very doubtful, and the reading cannot be absolutely vouched for. The A, though faint, is probable, but 6 has disappeared from the surface of the papyrus.
- III. KAI: so (against S.) $I^{u_1 200^3}$ 56 359 b_2 6 368. $H^{\delta 1}$ omits ii anictol.

- 115. It does not seem possible that room can be found in the lacuna for TEYWCINIC. Probably there was an accidental omission or a false reading (e. g. npohhtai). Even tic anic in l. 116 is a good deal for the space, and possibly tic was omitted, with $H^{\delta +8}$ Ω_{ρ} 1:1.
- Perhaps therefore the apparent A is not really a letter, and we should read [THC] | C[ACTXGTA]1.
 - 121. So S. The K text inserts KAI OYTOC before TA.
- 122. The vellum is much blackened at the beginning of this and the following lines, and the dotted μ and κ are very indistinct, as are ϕ AME in 1. 123.
- 124—126. Very difficult. Considerations of space seem to make it certain that the text of S. (which, apart from unimportant variants, is well established) cannot be found here, and we must suppose either a real variant not met with elsewhere or a mere blunder. The reading given, if established, may be the latter, but προπεσών for πεσών ἐπὶ πρόσωπον is quite possible, and a real variant seems more likely. It cannot indeed be regarded as certain but seems the likeliest. και is very indistinct but quite possible, o probable. At the end of l. 124 po can be accepted with some confidence, and cn are not difficult to read. O[....]C suggests o[ΥΤω]C, ω being a broad letter. In l. 125 nec is likelier than not; and though προ[cω] might be read in l. 124 if we suppose the vellum to have been rubbed as well as discoloured, this is not very satisfactory; nor does it seem possible to read και ε[πι πρ]οςω; the p is almost certain.
- 127—8. The readings at the end of 127 are very doubtful, and at the beginning of 128, though the vellum is whole, the traces are too much obliterated for any reading, but as OUTCD[C] seems certain, the above text, that of K, is established.
- 129. $o\overline{\gamma}$: the stroke (for 11) is not certain, but 11 was certainly not written at the beginning of 1. 130.
 - 132. K adds үмшн after вкастос.
 - 140. rei]: this is likelier than ri for reasons of space.
- 141. NEC[OW · CITE]: the dot is inserted because without it (or a blank space) the line would be rather short.

144—146. S.'s text is το πλεϊστον τρεῖς καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος καὶ εἶς διερμηνευέτω. The only likely variants are πλειστι $(I^{b1} \ ^{365})$ and GIC λ e $(I^{a3} \ ^{106})$. As the lines vary somewhat in length and ι may be written for $\epsilon\iota$ and the numbers be represented by figures $(\Gamma' \ \text{and} \ \lambda')$ it is impossible with any confidence to fill up the lacunae here.

147. [Tw: or possibly this concluded l. 146.

[ep]M[HIIE]Y[THC: as the M is very probable, AIEPMHNEYTHC (S.) would involve reading [AIEP] in 1. 147, for which there seems hardly room. The reading in the text is that of H^{δ_I} I^{σ_I} 1026ff, etc.

150. ΕλΥΤΦ: so S.; λΥΤΦ Iai 1028 f.

153—163. It has not been possible to identify this fragment. The only complete word is COMA (the point after it, which is all but certain, shows it is nom. or acc. sing., not, e. g., COMA | TOC), and the traces would suit excellently the passage 12, 12:

[OYTOC K]AI O \overline{xc}

In l. 153 π could be read, though less suitable than M; in l. 155 π is almost as likely as π ; and before it π is actually suggested. Unfortunately 12, 12 comes in fragm. 1 b, col. 2; and the certain second column here therefore makes that position impossible.

Besides this fragment a few yet smaller scraps remain, too small and too much defaced to yield anything of interest.

10. Galatians. (Coptic.)

The top of a small leaf, paged \overline{A} , \overline{B} , preserves Galatians 1, 1, 6, 7, in one column of a small, rounded hand. The text appears to coincide with Horner's.

II. I Peter. (Coptic.)

[Педиење миедиу-[иееед ууу]у ефже инд]й дед

поуч сезюуе ершти
тетикеет пы гар оугмотпе пиагрипиоуте
птаутегмтнути епаї
жепехс гишч ачфп гісе гаршти ечкш ин[ти]
пиоусмо[т

I Peter II, 20, 21.

ıο

5

This passage is not preserved elsewhere, but the last phrase is quoted by Shenoute (1). Its only remarkable reading is γάρ in v. 20.

12. Revelation. (Greek.)

In Brit. Mus. Pap. 2241. A small scrap of light-coloured papyrus contains a portion of Rev. 2. 12-13 and 15. 8-16. 2, in two rough, inelegant, sloping hands, probably of the 7th century. That the hands of recto and verso are different seems certain. Since, though the lines were certainly long, it is hardly possible that the two sides of a single sheet can have contained respectively chapters 2 and 15 if the text was continuous, we must conclude that the MS. contained extracts only; perhaps a lectionary or other liturgical work. This is supported by the fact that the writing on the verso is the opposite way up from that on the recto, which suggests that the fragment is from a roll rather than a codex; the roll form was specially favoured for liturgical purposes. Too little remains for the fragments to possess much textual value. So far as can be judged from the scanty relics, the text appears to agree with H rather than K or I (for these and other symbols see q, introd.), but as this conclusion is inferred from considerations of space, not got directly from the extant portions, it cannot be regarded with great confidence.

⁽¹⁾ AMÉLINEAU, Œuvres de S. I, 27.

Verso.

2.12. 1

KAI TO AFFEAD THE EN]

пергамо еккансіа[С]

 $_2$ [гра ψ ой таде легеі о ехфи тий ромфаіли тий ді-

- 3 [HOY KATOKEIC OROY O OPONOC TOY CATANA KAI KPA-TEIC] TO ONOMA MOY
- 4 [KAI OYK HPNHCO THU MICTIU MOY KAI (?) GU TAIC LIME-PAIC AN]TURAC O MA[P]

Recto.]

15.8 5

каі ек тнс]

AYHAMEWC AYTOY

- 6 [KAI OYAGIC GAYNATO GICGAGGIII GIC TON NAON AXPI 16.1 TGAGCGWCIII AI GIITA NAHFAI TWN G]NTA AFFGAWN KAI HK[OYCA]
 - 7 [мегалнс ффинс ек тоу илоу легоуснс тоіс епта α аггелоіс упагете каі екхеете тас епта] α філлас тоу өүмоу тоу өү
 - 2 8 [GIC ТНП ГНП КМ АПНАӨЕН О ПРШТОС КМ ЕЗЕХЕЕН ТНП фІАЛНП АУТОУ ЄІС ТНП ГНП] КМ ЄГЕНЕТО ЄЛКОС
 - 9 [κακοι και ποιημροί στι τούς απορωπούς τούς έχοιτας το χαράγμα τού θηριού και τούς προσκύπο]ύπτας την
- 3. A comparison with 1. 2 shows that there was not room for the epith con kai before non katolkeic. The above reading is that of HI^{b2} , etc.
- 4. There was not room for both KAI before EH and EH AIC after HMEPAIC. The reading here given is that of H (except 22), with which recension 12 agrees in 1. 3.
- 7. The K text, against H and I^{ab1} , etc., omits ϵK TOY HAOY. Here, the text given (from S.) for the lacunae in ll. 6, 7, 8, and 9 gives the following numbers of letters: l. 6, 65; l. 7, 69; l. 8, 59; l. 9, 75. In l. 8 there in room for 1 or 2 more letters, and in l. 9, for about 8—9 more letters than in ll. 6

and 7; hence the numbers allowed for the corresponding lacunae must be reduced to 57 or 58 and to 66 or 67 respectively. The average may probably be fixed therefore (if we disregard l. 8) at about 65—66. To omit c_K toy many would reduce the number to 60. Any variants known for the passage in l. 6 would tend to increase rather than diminish the number of letters lost, and in l. 8 arread may have occurred after npotoc (so $I^{a_1 \ so_1}$ and other MSS.). On the whole, then, the H I rather than the K text seems more likely here, but there is really very little to choose in point of probability.

9. τὴν εἰκόνα, as against τῆ εἰκόνι (S.) is the reading of many representatives of I^a .

Theological.

13. Liturgy (?). (Greek.)

Two fragments of patterned ware. In a minuscule hand of Greek type. The probable ἐλέησον of ll. 3 and 4 makes it likely that this is liturgical.

]n моногеннс ую[с a]гіас өеотокоу каі пар[өеноу ?еленс]он нмші[]е[.]елеусіон тш[н] уїоу к[

- 1. Before γιο[c, o can perhaps be read.
- 3. Cf. 1. 4.
- 4. exercion: apparently = ἐλέησον.

14. Creed. (Coptic.)

+ + [+] тенпістеуе є[пноутє ппант]шкратшр пнитавта[міо \overline{n}]интенаау єрооу мінійтенаау [єрооу ан а]уш оухоєю поушт іс пе- \overline{xc} пшнрє ноу[шт]н нтапішт \overline{s} єпоч 2а \overline{s} [н ннаіш] ії поуо- \overline{s} [ії п.[

Cu[

Fragments of a Creed (1).

"We believe in [God, the Al]mighty, He that created the things we see and those we see [not.] And in one Lord, Jesus, the Christ, the only Son [?] he(?) whom the Father begat before [all ages.] Light of [light . . ."

15. Liturgical fragment. (Coptic.)

A small double leaf (each 9×8 cm), with a text in one column and 12 lines of thick, square uncials, of about the 7th century, comes perhaps from a hymn or other liturgical book. It is interesting as an instance of pure Fayyûmic dialect, which, but for the trading relations between the two districts, which our texts show, one would not expect to find in use so far south. The text, but partly legible, is composed of biblical or semi-biblical phrases. At the end of each section was a title(?), in the form of subscription, now quite illegible. The verso (?) of fol. 1 (?) has, as col. 1:

The recto of this leaf begins:

GAIA EAAK EN T[.. H]TAK 200K

16. Liturgical fragment. (Coptic.)

Likewise intended for liturgical use — a "choir slip" perhaps — was a leaf of papyrus, whereof a fragment, 7×7 cm, shows upon one side the broken beginnings of a text composed

⁽¹⁾ A creed in Coptic, similar to this, is found in the MS. whence parts of my text in the *Papyruscodex saec*. 17—VII is taken (v. Einleitung XIV). It is in Paris 129¹⁴, f. 63 and runs: "... one Lord, Jesus the Christ, the son of God, the only-begotten, whom the Father begat before all ages. Light &c." The formula approximates to the so called Nicæno-Constantinopolitan Creed. Cf. the current Jacobite version with similar features, Cairo Euchologion 1902, p. 290.

of sentences apparently not biblical, though in biblical phraseology. The script is but semi-literary: perhaps of the 7th century.

Verso is blank.

P nezhooye ciw[n | nxoic ek[e]w[| coy nak :/s n[| mkaz nzht [| ecooy zen[| cia netxi[|] phy nbiah[m

17. Homiletic Work. (Coptic.)

A tattered leaf of fine, thin parchment, $12 \times 10^{\circ}5$ (?) cm. when complete, written in 1 column of 18 lines, in a beautiful, somewhat sloping hand, with features recalling the "2nd scribe" of the Pistis (1), Brit. Mus. 509, the Achmimic Jude (2) and especially certain Greek hands of the 3rd—4th cent. (3). V. Pl. l. The text is presumably homiletic, its subject being the first Passover and the Exodus (4). The occurrence of the words $\mu \nu \sigma \tau h \rho \nu \nu \sigma \tau h \rho \nu \nu \sigma \tau h \rho \nu \sigma \tau h \rho$

MWYCHC' GIC 2HHTG FAP TIGE

XAY GKEXI NOYGCOOY GYOYOX

GM'MN TXBIN (5) N2HTY NFWA

ATY MINOY NPOY2G MINWH

PG MIHA' ITTETNOYOMY N

TGYWH 2NOYGENH' NNGTH

OYWWY NOYWAC GBOA' N2HTY'

GKEAC, TEXAK NTGG[..] NOY

OYWH NOYWT' GTGTNGOYOMY

KATA NGTMIATPIA MINGTH

AHMOC GPGNGTN-TIG [

GPGNGTN[TOO]YG NPAT[THY]

TN' GPG[NGT]NGGPOOB 2N[NG]

TNGIX' TIA[F]APIG TITACXA

⁽¹⁾ V. CRUM, Coptic MSS. p. 3n. and HYVERNAT, Album II.

⁽²⁾ CRUM, op. cit., pl. I.

⁽³⁾ P. Oxyr. 847, P. Ryl. (Gk.) 53.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. Ex. XII.

⁽⁵⁾ T presumably the result of following x.

MUXOGIC MEDI MEGAGE MONTE MECOOL NELS MUCHON MUCCOOL NELS MUCCOOL NELS

47

€MOΥ⊓€ (2)

MUNET'OVA TIPPO TINETTIHEI EAMPEIN MUTLEFOC, EIC 3H нте 4папатассе ткиме TIPP AT'WHPE THOYOYOH I OVOT: XINDPOME CANTE ΠΟΟΛΕ. ΤΟΣΕ ΜΦΛΟΗΟ ΥΑΦΦ фт, миссоол птелфн учхфк, евод мимустиріон мийши [Р]е мпіна засфрагізе ппро TINHEL GYAPES, MILANOC' AYOU LEAMIYELL MUYLLEYOC, MIELOA $[\omega\omega]\omega$ $\Delta \in M[..]$ $\pi \in M[..]$ [M]M MULLYCKY, YALKOJK EBOY M UMACTHEION. [9] ACPENIZE M THE PACAPLE THE THE TAYOU. TOTE AS ASSITED HALLSHOLD [епа]тассе икние петемпя мэтэл [•]иоичтумпи[..]

J Moses. "For lo", said He, "thou shalt take a sheep that is whole and wherein is no blemish and thou shalt slay it at eventime with the children of Israel; and ye shall eat it at night in haste. Ye shall not break a bone of it. Thou shalt do it", said He, "[...] in a single night, ye eating it according to $(\alpha\alpha\tau\alpha)$ your father's-houses $(\alpha\alpha\tau\rho\alpha)$ and your families $(\delta\eta\mu\rho\varsigma)$; your loins [being girt], your shoes on your feet, your staves in your hands. For this is the Passover $(\pi\alpha\sigma\gamma\alpha)$ of the Lord, an everlasting remembrance for the children of Israel. But $(\delta\epsilon)$ ye

⁽¹⁾ Not space in gap for CHTE.

⁽²⁾ Or GMYIIG. The script is small and faded. Is GMOYIIG, or MOYIIG, a variant of TOYA? Cf. Ex. XII, 7.

⁽³⁾ Undoubtedly a gap after M.

shall take the blood of the sheep and shall smear it upon the door-posts (verso, p. 94) and the lintels of the doors of your houses, for a sign unto the angel ($\alpha\gamma\gamma$.). Lo, I will smite ($\pi\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\sigma\varepsilon\iota\nu$) Egypt and it shall be childless, in a single night, from the men to the cattle". Then ($\tau\dot{\sigma}\tau\dot{\varepsilon}$) Moses slew the sheep at night and fulfilled the mystery ($\mu\nu\sigma\tau\dot{\eta}\rho\iota\nu$) with the children of Israel. He sealed ($\sigma\varphi\rho\alpha\gamma\dot{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$) the doors of the houses for a protection unto the people ($\lambda\alpha\dot{\sigma}\varepsilon$) and for a sign unto the angel ($\alpha\gamma\gamma$.). And ($\delta\dot{\varepsilon}$) after they had slain the sheep they ate the Passover ($\pi\dot{\alpha}\sigma\chi\alpha$) and fulfilled the mystery ($\mu\nu\sigma\tau$.) and Israel was sealed ($\sigma\varphi$.) and the people ($\lambda\dot{\alpha}\dot{\sigma}\varepsilon$) rejoiced ($\varepsilon\dot{\iota}\dot{\nu}\dot{\rho}\rho\dot{\alpha}\dot{\iota}\nu\dot{\epsilon}\iota\nu$). And then ($\tau\dot{\tau}\tau\dot{\epsilon}$ $\delta\dot{\epsilon}$) came the angel ($\alpha\gamma\gamma$.) to (?) smite ($\pi\alpha\tau$.) Egypt. Whoso had not [received (?)] the mystery ($\mu\nu\sigma\tau$.), whoso had not [

18. Apophthegm. (Coptic.)

Written on a wall.

From Campbell Thompson's copy.

АВЖООС

N61 ОУЗАЛО

ЖЕІФАННАЎ

6 ТА

ЖЕОЎ ПЕІ

ЖАВ ЖН

ММАН

- 3. Copy xpi.
- 6. Сору ожлен.
- 7. Сору ан.
- 8. Copy M[]MAN.

oriniti di...

referred but

An Apophthegm (1) (the readings whereof are very uncertain) beginning, "An elder said, When I see a fault (?) in my brother, what shall I say?"

⁽¹⁾ Apophthegmata adorn the walls of a tomb at Faras, Nubia, and will be published by Mr. Griffith.

Medical, Magical.

19. Almanac. (Coptic.)

A fragment of papyrus, 6.5 × 8.5 cm, has, on one side only (1), parts of 10 lines in a sloping, non-literary hand of the 6th or 7th century. The text is of a kind very rarely preserved in Coptic: it is the remains of an almanac of lucky and unlucky days connected with the moon, somewhat similar to that described by Krall (2). Cf. also Brit. Mus. 523. The extent of the parts lost, on all 4 sides, is unknown.

4]ихфапе ечоуотв епече[
]e(3) пречище икатафроніт[нс
]фч' (4) чихмоу петихфапе' чихісе[
] поог фарепоог фа' жіниму (6)
]сфия' михте игоуноч' м[мок
а]ихгклюн. паноуч еоуфтг[(7)
4]ихфап (8) петихфапе' чихісе[
и]гооут' чихфапе ечтсавн[у
10 г] фара петихфапе ечтсавн[у

A small fragment

] nn . A . nn [(9)

...he] shall excel his (plur.) (10) become (?) quarrelsome and haughty (χαταφρονητής) he too(?)(11) shall die Those

⁽I) The MS. may therefore have been in roll form.

⁽²⁾ The Rainer Mitt. V, 30.

^{(3) ?} wwn]e.

^{(4) 20004.} A trace of Ist w is visible.

^{(5) ?} ww[ne.

^{(6) ?} MA[N@A.

⁽⁷⁾ Apparently not OYWTB.

⁽⁸⁾ No stop here, by error probably.

⁽⁹⁾ Or]ICNTA.NK[.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Possibly "his fellows", NEGEPHY.

⁽¹¹⁾ Or "but he", "he however'.

that are (?) (1) it shall be hidden (2) — (Day) 14 — |s| of ?] the moon. The moon riseth from the east (?) (3) body $(\sigma \tilde{\omega} \mu \alpha)$ alone and thou shalt (?) (4) rejoice needful $(\tilde{\alpha} \nu \alpha \gamma \kappa \alpha \tilde{\omega} \nu)$ (5). It is good (on this day) to pour forth (?) (6) it] shall be hidden. Whoso shall become sick shall suffer (7) male (child?), he shall become wise (8) |10| she] also, even as the male

The small fragment mentions the "year of the moon".

20. Recipes. (Coptic.)

| нетвеоух срезнт[| 1]ечоусрнте ичсш[| 1]ечоусрнте ичсш[| 1]гжоос жеїхш їхш[| 1]гжоос жеїхш їхш[| 1]гжоос таху сграї 2[| 2]етвепехалкіои [| 1]мпоупоопе[

Medical recipes, very obscure owing to incompleteness. In l. 4 magical names are invoked.

"Concerning one whose (?) belly [] his feet and he (9)...[] fingers of thy hand; lay them [] and say: Iaô, Iaô [|s|] the sickness (10) wherein he is [

⁽¹⁾ Plur. certain. Possibly "those that become sick", as in 8.

⁽²⁾ Refers presumably to the moon, as in 8.

⁽³⁾ Lit. "places of rising", but the reading is doubtful.

⁽⁴⁾ Tense uncertain, since it depends upon that of preceding (lost) verb

⁽⁵⁾ Or "valuable".

⁽⁶⁾ Or "melt", as of metals.

⁽⁷⁾ Or "have trouble, difficulty"; or if a participle followed, "strive".

⁽⁸⁾ Lit. "instructed, educated".

^{(9) &}quot;Drink" possible, but improbable.

⁽¹⁰⁾ wone just possible.

5

] bitumen (1) and [] (2); place them on [...] Concerning (3) the cauldron [] they have not changed (or been moved) ..."

21. Recipes. (Coptic.)

From Campbell Thompson's copy.

Medical recipes, written upon a plastered wall. (4)

L. 5 "... the] fever which (5) the medicaments (?θηριακόν) and wine and olive oil (6). Apply (7) them to it An eye that waters: ... of raven's eye (8) and water of onions and honey. Apply (them) to [it.... a goat's gall and honey..."

^{(1) &}quot;Ασφαλτος occurs in HALL's recipes (Copt. and Gk. Texts p. 65).

⁽²⁾ Not T]AA601. The letter before A is an upright one.

⁽³⁾ Presumably another recipe, though the first words hardly support this.

⁽⁴⁾ Solomon is said to have written many such recipes upon the Temple walls (BUDGE, Copt. Apocr. 69). Monk's cell walls used for writing: Thos. of Marga, Bk. of Governors (BUDGE) 11, 178, 458, and the Saqqara text cited below.

⁽⁵⁾ Reading ETWAPE-, for ETWABE "swollen", is unlikely as applied to a fever.

⁽⁶⁾ N€2 MMG lit. "genuine oil" Cf. AZ. XL, 132 n., Ryl. p. 58 n. Boh., CSCO. 43, 235.

⁽⁷⁾ This form of + recurs Saggara no. 103, likewise a medical recipe.

⁽⁸⁾ Equated with χυαμὸς έλληνική, Zoega 629. In a Balaiza frag. it occurs in a list of vegetables.

Mathematical.

22. Multiplication Tables.

Three fragments. Tables for 6 and 7. The arrangement is like that in our arithmetics, not like that in the following ostracon, where each ratio is given twice, in opposite ways. For such tables cf. B. M. 528, where, however, the table is not continuous but in the form " $7 \times 1 = 7$, $7 \times 10 = 70$, $7 \times 100 = 700$ ", etc.

On the left edge

"6 \times 1 = 6, 6 \times 2 = 12, 6 \times 3 = 18", etc. "7 \times 1 = 7, 7 \times 2 = 14", etc., up to 10 in each case.

23. Multiplication Table.

Table for 7, given in double form, $7 \times x$, $x \times 7$. The ostracon is apparently a palimpsest, a previous text having been washed off.

" $7 \times 1 = 7$, $1 \times 7 = 7$, $7 \times 2 = 14$, $2 \times 7 = 14$ ", etc.; the table is preserved only as far as " $7 \times 7 = 49$."

- 1. After the second z is visible a f, part of the earlier text.
- 4. The character before the break is probably no part of the present text.

24-28. Tables of Fractions.

The five following ostraca contain tables of fractions similar to those which occur in the Akhmîm mathematical papyrus (Mém. Miss. Arch. Française, IX, 1892), ff. 1-2b, and in B. M. 528. Tables of this kind are discussed, and translations given of two other examples, in Sethe, Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Ägyptern (Schr. d. Wiss. Ges. in Straßburg, 25. Heft), 1916, pp. 69-72, to which reference may be made; and a papyrus brought from Egypt in the winter of 1921 and now in the University of Michigan contains an elaborate collection of such tables, the utility, indeed necessity, of which, given the Graeco-Egyptian system of fractions, is obvious. The present ostraca were probably used by the monastic accountants as ready reckoners.

The occurrence, certainly in 26 and possibly in the others, of a mysterious heading which occurs in the tables of the Akhmîm papyrus suggests that the present ostraca were copied from a similar or perhaps the same compilation as that papyrus.

We are indebted to a late colleague at the War Office, Mrs. Davey, for some help in connexion with these documents.

Table for $\frac{1}{7}$. + To $z \triangleq z [/ K\acute{H}]$ + To $z \triangleq z [/ K\acute{H}]$ + Ton $a \neq z [/ K\acute{H}]$ + Ton $b \neq a \neq K\ddot{H}$ + Ton $b \neq a \neq K\ddot{H}$

" $\frac{1}{7}$: $\frac{1}{4}$ of $\frac{1}{7} = \left[\frac{1}{28}\right]$...] $\left(\frac{1}{7} \text{ of}\right)$ $r = \frac{1}{7}$, of $r = \frac{1}{4}$ of $r = \frac{1}{4}$

- I. The reading and supplement are suggested by 26 and CRUM, Copt. Ostr. 480, where at the head of the tables fractions of the fraction concerned are given, but the trace before the break does not greatly favour z/. API[OMO], as in the Akhmîm papyrus, seems impossible.
- 4. $\overline{0}$: for this symbol for $\frac{1}{3}$ see P. Lond. v 1718, 60 and index to that volume.
- 6. 3: this symbol (varied by 3, as in 25) for $\frac{2}{3}$ is not uncommon. For other forms see P. Lond. V, Index 7(a).

25.

Another table for $\frac{1}{7}$, but, unlike the last, ending with the number 7.

1. For Α['z/κή see note on 24, 1. Here λ[ριθμω could also be read.

26.

Three fragments. Table for $\frac{1}{11}$.

" $\frac{1}{11}: \text{ to the number of (?) 545. } \frac{1}{3} \text{ of } \frac{1}{11} = \frac{1}{33}; \ (\frac{1}{11}) \text{ of } \ \mathbf{i} = \frac{1}{11},$ of $\mathbf{i} = \frac{1}{6}$, of $\mathbf{i} = \frac{1}{4}$, of $\mathbf{i} = \frac{1}{3}$, of $\mathbf{i} = \frac$

- 1. That κ is a symbol for ἀριθμῷ seems clear from f. 1 b, col. 9, l. 1 of the Akhmîm papyrus, ια΄ ἀριθμῷ φμε (Baillet prints φυε, but renders by 545) γ΄ ια΄ λγ΄. Baillet is unable to explain the sense of ἀριθμῷ with a following number, which heads every table, but he points out that the number is always the product of the fraction in question and 6000 (in the case of $\frac{1}{11}$ the result, 545, is approximate, neglecting the fraction $\frac{5}{11}$). Cf. too Crum's note on B. M. 528 (p. 2573).
- 5-8. The supplements are guaranteed by the Akhmîm papyrus.

27.

Tables (as the arithmetic indicates) for $\frac{1}{25}$ on the convex and $\frac{1}{49}$ and $\frac{1}{7}$ on the concave.

Convex: "
$$(\frac{1}{25})$$
 of $r_1 = \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{14} \frac{1}{42} \left[\frac{1}{150} \frac{1}{210}\right]$." Concave: " $(\frac{1}{49})$ of $7 = \frac{1}{7} \dots (\frac{1}{7})$ of $7 = r$, of $8 = r \frac{1}{7}$, of $9 = r \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{28} \dots$ "

28.

It is not certain that this is really, like the preceding texts, a table of fractions (the integral numbers divided in 11.4 and 5 are higher than elsewhere, and 1.6 does not very well suit the hypothesis); but on the whole it seems likely.

] cw[] e twn x[] twn [] twn [] twn [

Stelae and Graffiti.

The inscriptions here selected, as the more legible and interesting, from Mr. Campbell Thompson's note-books (1), were copied by him in the church, the houses and the caves of Wadi Sarga. The stelae present the usual problem: are they true grave-stones, or merely commemorative tablets (2)? Their texts would sometimes be appropriate to either purpose, e. g. where date of death is recorded. Mr. Campbell Thompson however found them in various chambers on the hillside, quite apart from the cemetery; hence they cannot be regarded as grave stones.

The present arrangement places the stelae first, the frescoed graffiti afterwards. The two initial invocatory phrases,

⁽i) Such texts are notoriously difficult to copy and my interpretation of the copies is often far from satisfactory.

⁽²⁾ Cf. Quibell, Saqqara (1912), p. 8. W. de Bock, Matériaux, p. 78, found stelae built into a church wall. In general no note appears to have been kept by excavators as to the positions in which such stelae were found; and subsequent cataloguers have had therefore to leave this point untouched.

found in both groups, where the beginnings of the texts are preserved, are: "Father, Son and Holy Ghost..." and "Good God, ...". Upon the stelae from the monastery of Saggara the first of these formula is very common, while the latter is rarely found (1); it is never employed at Wadi Sarga. After the stelae have been classed those of the graffiti which similarly invoke saints and commemorate names — the living, it would seem, where no date of death is given. The length of the text depends upon the number of the names invoked: first the Trinity, angels, biblical patriarchs, prophets and saints, the apostles and martyrs; then the three "great men", Apollo. Anoun and Phib(2), who had become throughout Middle Egypt the principal figures of monastic tradition (3); and finally the series of local worthies treated of in our Introduction. The presence and absence of these groups, their combination and sequence vary, as do those of the elements in each group, according to the predilections of dedicators and the accuracy of sculptors. Among the saints and martyrs invoked it is rarely possible to identify any but the most conspicuous. Presumably the rest are local heroes, unknown to the Calendar, in its extant forms at least.

Following these venerated names, on both stelae and graffiti, are those of the departed, on whose behalf the holy men have been petitioned. Often the date of death is given (though usually the month only), so that the name which is that of the deceased is not in doubt(4). But often other names, without dates (5), follow this and we are left to speculate who

⁽¹⁾ E. g. nos. 102, 206, 283, 339 c.

⁽²⁾ May we call them Horus, Anubis and Thoth? They are invoked by visitors to the Oases: Bock, *Matériaux*, p. 38.

⁽³⁾ Pachom and Shenoute, with their respective successors, appear never to have attained (or? retained) a popularity comparable with this. The former is invoked, Hall p. 132, the latter, Alexandria Mus. no. 203. Or it may be that excavation has yet to bring to light the epitaphs from sites where these great abbots were in special veneration.

⁽⁴⁾ ln 25² there are 2 deceased, both with their dates. ln Saqqara there are often several, e. g. nos. 27, 30, 222, 247.

⁽⁵⁾ Occasionally with dates: Miss. franç. III, p. 30, no. 50.

these may be. A stele, as 36 for instance, shows that children (or? disciples), while yet alive, added their names to the paternal epitaph (1); or it may be that such names are those of friends or relatives who died subsequently (e. g. in 30). Or again, as in 35, 44, 45, 46, the text ends with a name probably that of their common dedicator. The graffiti are, as elsewhere, not epitaphs, but simply invocations, more or less informal: sometimes enclosed in a rough frame, sometimes irregularly scribbled on the plaster, now by one suppliant only (48), now by several (51, 55, 56, 59). It will be seen below that, besides stelae and graffiti, there are instances of inscriptions, both epitaphs (61, 63, 64) and invocations (54, 62), written upon ostraca (2), which may have served as preliminary drafts for the guidance of the stone cutter. They have therefore been inserted in the present section.

29.

+ плот мипонре м ишия етоляв цеи IOT MIXAHA HENI ОТ ГАВРІНА ТЕМАУ М 5 APIA NENI(O)TE N+KE ос неито)те нушос тууос, иеиюте и ος ρωμε λπλ λνογπ иос пеи ют апа ө фияс имиечен ну, фусіос ушу цун CE API TMEYEY[.]HAH оүп пкасе пе[]мп ин авемитои мо. ч νсογμντλητ€ мпармоуте: зни оутрине ите пи OYT[6] 2XMHN 40

kept > (I) Or a father adds his after that of his dead son: Christ. Vostok I, 48. subsequeb) Cf. CRUM, Ostr. 491, 492.

12. Copy]сан, leg. пмече напочп.

- 13. Leg.? πρ[ε] M.
- 14. Leg. ємтоп ммоч.

"The Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost; Michael, our father Gabriel, our mother |s| Mary; our righteous fathers, our fathers the Apostles; our fathers the great men (1), Apa Anoup the great; our father Apa |10| Thomas and his brethren; the holy Apa Paêse (2), have mind of Anoup, the tanner (3), of He went to rest on the 14th day of Parmoute, in the peace of God. Amen, amen."

30.

Now in the British Museum (not numbered, 1921).

+ пішт мілішнре міліта єтоуаль п єпішт міхана п єпішт гавріна тє та міріта пеціот є мірофитис пе пії от вії от ві

⁽¹⁾ Apollo and Anoup, distinguished here and in 48, 66, 73 from name-sakes by the epithet FIO6 (also Saqqara, 1907-8, p. 6 and no. 101, (cf. the more usual O, as in Pahomo), with Phib occasionally added, are the monastic worthies most often invoked here, as at Bawit, Saqqara, Abydos (Cemeteries of Ab. Ill, 38) and as far S. as Denderah (graffiti copied by N. DE G. DAVIES). In HALL, p. 145 (17) Apollo is termed "our great (1106) father".

⁽²⁾ The epithet ἄγιος indicates a recognized saint. The martyr of 8th Kihak was from Abusir, near Ashmunain, so perhaps venerated as far S. as W. Sarga.

⁽³⁾ In a list of trades (Brit. Mus. Or. 8903) σχυτεύς apparently corresponds to κεκε, which I take as dialectal for κακε. The latter not hitherto explained.

тн[ne] птоусіх хчемт

[оп м]моч псоужоуте
[мп]хрмоуте мпхпх
пфхинс п[р]нмтоуг
ф мпесоуо поу[еп]рн
пс замни чө

"The Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost; our father Michael, our father Gabriel, our |5| mother Mary; our fathers the Prophets, our righteous fathers (1), our fathers the Apostles; the holy Apa Sons[na]u(2); |10| our father Apa Thomas and his brethren(3), have mind of my brother []on of the farm dyke(?) (4). He went |15| to rest on the 15th day of Parmouti. And Apa John of Touhô mpeswo(5), in peace. Amen, amen."

31.

NA] TOCTO
ACC MMAPTHPOC:
ATA TAYAE: ATA ACCTC
NENCIOTE NNOC NPCME
ATA ATOAAC: ATA AN
OYT: ATA \$\delta \text{Bis} \text{ATA}
OCH\$ \text{ATA} ATA TOTTE: ATA
ICCH\$ \text{ATA} ATA ANOYT:
NETOYAAB THPOY API
TMEEYE NATA BAPOO
AOMAIOC TPMANTINOY

⁽¹⁾ Perhaps reminiscent of a biblical phrase, e. g. Mat. XIII, 17, though in 29 the prophets are absent.

⁽²⁾ A saint Sansnau is invoked at Deir el-Gebrawi (II, pl. XXIX, no. 3). Perhaps the same (? his church) at Arsinoe (*Mit. Rain.* II, 261, 263). Cf. fem. Tsansnô, Leipoldt, *Schenute* 142 (not Sansnô). A single saint thus inserted in 29, 48.

⁽³⁾ The local worthies, so often enumerated, are thus referred to in 29, 60.

⁽⁴⁾ Probably a particular locality so named. Cf. 172.

⁽⁵⁾ Recurs in 35 and KRALL XCVIII. Cf. Ryl. 369 II.

итачитои ммоч исоүмит хашче итөооүт эмноүе рнин эамн[и]

6. In copy 1 is like a perpendicular A.
11. Copy ATTINOY.

"..., the Apostles, the Martyrs, Apa Paul, Apa Lôts(1); our fathers the great men, |5| Apa Apollo, Apa Anoup, Apa Phib; Apa Thomas, Apa Peter, Apa Joseph, Apa Anoup; all the saints, have |10| mind of Apa Bartholomew of Antinoe(2). He went to rest on the 17th day of Thowt, in peace. Amen.'

32.

Now in British Museum (no. 1919, 5-5, 10).

IC ΠΕΧΡΟΤΕ
ΠΙΏΤ ΠϢΗΡΕ ΠΕΠΝ
ΘΟΥΜΑ ΘΤΟΥΑΒ · ΑΠΑ
ΜΙΧΑΗΑ ΑΠΑ ΓΑΒΡΙΥ

5 [Α] ΠΕΝΙΏΤ ΑΤΑΜ
[ΤΕΝ]ΜΑΑΥ ΜΑΡΙ
Α ΑΠΑ ΠΑΜΟΥΝ
ΑΠΑ 2ΑΑΟ ΝΕΤΟΥ
ΑΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΡΙ ΠΜ
10 ΘΟΥΕ ΜΠΑCON
[Κ]Ϣ[CTA]ΝΤΙΝΕ ΝΤΑ

"Jesus Christ. The Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost. Apa Michael, Apa Gabriel; |s| our father Adam, [our] mother Mary; Apa Pamoun (3), Apa Hello (4); all the saints; have |ro| mind of my brother Constantine, who [went to rest..."

⁽¹⁾ Are these two martyrs? If so, the former may be Paul of Tamma (v. Miss. franç. IV, 515, 759). The latter name recurs in ST. 431, MURRAY, Osireion, pl. XXXVII and DAVIES, Sheikh Said, p. 35.

⁽²⁾ Not quite certain.

⁽³⁾ Cf. 66 n.

⁽⁴⁾ Met with only in an Abydos stele (PEET, Cemet. Abydos III, 38).

33.

Facsimile in F. Petrie's Gizeh and Rifeh, pl. XL.

+ пішт підн ре пепла є тоуа[а]в пеп єїшт [а]аам м 5 [піпечіднір]є тн [роу арі] піме [еує мп]асоп]прмт[]ачм[топ]

"The Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost; our father Adam [and |s| his] children a[ll, have] min[d of]my brother [] of T[]. He went to rest [on the "

34.

те]мау маріа пенеішт ' адам арі пм [ееу]е папа

"..., our] mother Mary, our father Adam, have mind of Apa ["

35.

Facsimile in F. Petrie's Memphis, pl. LIV.

Р плоуте паганос ала не тре ала ішснф ала алоуп ала памоу и иетоуаав тироу арі пмеєує мпла па віктшр прмтоу 2ш несоуо ачмтон ммоч исоувтооу

10 МПАРМ2ОТП 2NOY 6IPHNH 2AMHN ПП АПА ВІКТШР ПРМІІ 2AGG 2AMHN IT INAIK/ 40

"Good God; Apa Thomas, Apa Peter, Apa Joseph, Apa Anoup, Apa Pamoun, |5| all the saints, have mind of the papa Victor, of Touhô neswo (1). He went to rest on the 4th day |10| of Parmhotp, in peace. Amen. The papa Victor of Hage. Amen. 13th Indiction. Amen."

36.

Facsimile in F. Petrie's Gizeh and Rifeh, pl. XL.

₽ плоуте пагавос ала вф мас ала петре ала іфснф ала алоуп ала памоуп ал а герман № ала іоусте пет оуаав тнроу арі пмеєує п ала ієрнміас прмсіп ачмто п ммов псоумитн пхоіагк мпала іфгальнеї певфнре ачм[топ

blank

10 гиоугрнин ите пиоу те замни прачг эт

"Good God; Apa Thomas, Apa Peter, Apa Joseph, Apa Anoup, Apa Pamoun, Apa Germanus, Apa Justus; all the |s| saints, have mind of Apa Jeremias of Sip(2). He went to rest on the 15th day of Choiahk; and Apa John, his son. He went [to rest (blank)(3)] |so in the peace of God. Amen...(4), amen."

⁽¹⁾ Cf. 3o.

⁽²⁾ The Sip in Hyvernat, Actes 74 is probably, not certainly, a place name. It lay in "southern Egypt", south at any rate of the Delta.

⁽³⁾ Presumably engraved during John's lifetime.

⁽⁴⁾ Unintelligible letters: probably a cryptogram (? leg. NIMAH2 = 2AMHN).

37.

Facsimile in F. Petrie's Gizeh and Rifeh, pl. XXXIX.

₽ ППОУТЕ
ПАГАВОС АПА ВШ
МАС АПА ПЕТРЕ АПА ІШ
СІІФ АПА АПОУП АПА ПАМ
ОУН АРІ ПМЕБУЕ МПАСОН
ВІКТШР ПРМТКАЗ ТІГІ АП
А ВІКТШР АЧМТОЙ ММОЧ Н
СОУСАЩВ ПЕМЩІР ЕН
ОУБІРНІН ЗАМНІІ ППА
ПА ВІКТШР КОУІ ЧӨ
АПІТРБАС ЧӨ

10

"Good God; Apa Thomas, Apa Peter, Apa Joseph, Apa Anoup, Apa Pamoun) |5| have mind of my brother Victor of the district of Tin.(1) Apa Victor went to rest on the 7th day of Emshir, in peace. Amen. The papa |10| Victor the less (2). Amen. Andrew. Amen."

38.

Facsimile in F. Petrie's Gizeh and Rifeh, pl. XL.

₽ ппоуте
паганос а
рі пмеує пт
асшне ас
пе трмпг
абе асмт

⁽¹⁾ In describing this stele (Gizeh and Rifeh 43), I read κάστρον, despite preceding fem. T. Both 2 and 1 are doubtful, but more probable than C and P. The prefix TKA2- occurs as TKA2CIMII (Mus. Guim. XVII, 132 II., Kopt. Rechtsurk. no. 99), TKA2KOOY (BM. 1121, P. Lond. IV, 1603). Tin-Thinis occurs in Recueil VI, 70, Rossi, Nuovo Cod. 3.

⁽²⁾ Presumably the Victor of 42 and 2 fragments now in Br. Mus. In these "V. the less" is either dedicator or sculptor. (Who, then, is Andrew in the present text?). "V. of Hage", in 35, 44, 45, 46 and two other Br. Mus. fragments, holds a like place in the inscription; are the two distinct?

ом мос мс оүмнтсаф ве мпарм оүте гмоүг рн • гамни

"Good God; have mind of my sister (1) Lene, of Hage. She went to rest on the 17th day of Parmoute, in peace $(= \epsilon i \rho \eta \eta)$. Amen."

39.

Now in the British Museum.

[Р] пноуте пага вос апа вшмас апа петре апа і шснф апа аноуп апа памоуп арі пмеєує мппап а фоівамшн п

"Good God; Apa Thomas, Apa Peter, Apa Joseph, Apa Anoup, |5| Apa Pamoun, have mind of the papa Phoebammon, the ["

40.

Now in the British Museum.

]. ПЕ
ПНОЧТЕ ПАГА
ООС АПА ӨШМ
АС АПА ПЕТРЕ А
5 [П]А ІШСНФ АПА А
[NO]YП АПА ПАМ
[OYN

⁽¹⁾ Presumably this means "sister", i. ε. nun, as πACO11 means "brother" or monk. Cf. 65. The name is probably for Helene and recurs thus in CRUM, ST. 138, and in full in KRALL CCXLVIII.

Invocation identical with ll. 1—5 of the preceding text. What l. 1 contained it is hard to say, the opening formula being complete without it: possibly [1c] ne[xc], as in 32.

41.

+ ппоуте
пакаефс
апа ефмас апа
петре апа юснф

апа апоуп апа па
моуп арі п(м)ееуе папы
оуте

2. Сору акафшс.

"Good God; Apa Thomas, Apa Peter, Apa Joseph, |5, Apa Anoup, Apa Pamoun, have mind of Papnoute."

42.

A HAMO[YN, API HME]

Facsimile in F Petrie's Gizeh and Rifeh, pl. XL.

λп]

EYE MIACON [TEW]
PKE IPMIMAMII
MENHC AUMTON MM
OU NCOYXOY[T]CNO
OYC NXOIAK ENOYEI
PHNH EAMHN IIIAII
A BIKTWP KOYI 40 5

- 4. Last letter ?p.
- 5. First letter ? 11.
- "...Ap]a Pamo[un, have mind] of my brother [Geo]rge of Pmamp. |s| of Hnês(1). He went to rest on the 22d day of Choiahk, in peace. Amen. The papa Victor the less. (2) Amen."

⁽¹⁾ Possibly TMAM a mistake; merely TPM2TIHC, "man of Hnes", intended. Yet many place-names in Middle Egypt began with Pma n- (now Man- or Am-).

⁽²⁾ Cf. 37.

43.

]ам[..] прмпга
[66 ач]емтон моч исоучто
[07] мпармоуте мппоксі
] е феере семтон мос
[псо]умит мпармотп
] пауає коуі прмпга
[66 гн]оуеїрніні замин

Ог? прм.

End of an epitaph, commemorating a man from Hage, a woman (3-5) and Paul, also from Hage. The readings are mostly very uncertain.

44.

Now in the British Museum.

мп]арм [2ат 200үбі]рнін 2 амніі папа вікт Фр прміі2абб 2амніі

Bottom of an epitaph. "... in] peace. Amen. Papa (1) Victor of Hage. Amen." Below this, two blank lines ruled.

45.

Now in the British Museum.

]2 &a[2]noyeiphn[h bikt]wp прм2a[66

Bottom of an epitaph, naming Victor of Hage. Cf. the preceding and two following, which all name perhaps the same Victor, who may be the dedicator of these stelae.

⁽¹⁾ Probably nnana should be read, as in 37 etc.

46.

Now in the British Museum

10

Bottom of an epitaph, naming the papa Victor of Hage.

47.

+ πείωτ μιπ[ωμρε μνπε]πιλ ετογ

λλε πενίωτ μίχληλ πενι[ω]τ γλε[ρ]

ΙΗΛ τενμάν μαρίλ μεῖοτε μπατρίλ

ρχης [ν]εῖοτε μπροφητής [ν]είοτε νλ[π]

ο αίνος εφργιος ο αγίος μ[η]νλ ο αγίος

λπλ κο[λλογθ]ος ο αγίος λπλ πεωλ ο αγίο[ς]

] απλ πάγλε μν[λ]πλ[

]ίος 2εί...οιςμ

]ο λ[γιος

7. Perhaps]oc ends a line and o arioc begins another.

"The Father and the [Son and the] Holy Ghost; our father Michael, our father Gabriel, our mother Mary; the (1) fathers the Patriarchs, the fathers the Prophets, the fathers the |s| Apostles; Apa Victor, Apa Phoebammôn (2); the holy George, the holy Mêna, the holy Apa Ko[llouth]us, the holy Apa Pgôl (3), the holy [], Apa Paul and Apa["

⁽¹⁾ So the text. Perhaps to be emended to "our fathers".

⁽²⁾ Presumably the martyrs, though one would expect δ ἄγιος to preceed, as in the cases following. The first 4 recur thus in Mél. d'Arch. II, 175.

⁽³⁾ Cf. CRUM, Theol. Texts, p. 75 n. This saint perhaps invoked, Ann. du Serv. VIII, 83.

48.

Compare with this no. 51.

пішт (п) фире пепівоума єтоуав пенішт атам темау сон пен(і) шт \mathbf{n} ... ана темааоу маріа пенішт маркшс [п] асон апа еншх апа аноуп нос апа апоуаш нос пен(і) шт петршс апа ноуп

апа томас апа петре апа юснф памоун напостолос запа германе апа [..]н апа макаре апа монсно

апа півамшні пенішт паоуашс

арі памеүоүеі пюк

піалакістює петрює птепноуте єп тан євша єпаоус

- 1. In copy сон ends L. 2 and could be read con.
- 2. Leg. ? MIXAHA; at end nothing lost?
- 7. Leg.? A for I (ANOK).
- 8. Leg. TAZAH, ENANOYC.

"The Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost; our father Adam, our mother Zôe, our father M[ich]ael (?), our mother Mary, our father Mark(1); my brother Apa Enoch; Apa Anoup the great(2), Apa Apollo the great, our father Peter (3); Apa Anoup, Apa Thomas, Apa Peter, Apa Joseph, (Apa) Pamoun; the Apostles(4); |s| Apa Germanus, Apa [], Apa Macarius, Apa Moses, Apa Phoebammôn(5), our father Paul(6), have mind of me, the most humble Peter, that God may bring my life to a good end(7)."

⁽¹⁾ Doubtless the evangelist.

⁽²⁾ On this epithet v. 29.

⁽³⁾ Of doubtful identity: either the apostle, as probably in 52, or a native saint, perhaps the martyred patriarch, or "Peter the great (or the elder"), venerated further south (Synax. FORGET I, 299, 348, 449).

⁽⁴⁾ This interrupts the series of abbots, which is already unusual in placing Anoup first — perhaps an erroneous repetition.

⁽⁵⁾ This form Pib(f)amon comes very near to that habitual in later times, Bifamoun.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. 31. A Paul is invoked in many epitaphs: Ann. du Serv. VIII. 177, Cemet. of Abydos III, 38, Turaief, Mater. no. 54.

⁽⁷⁾ As in Baouit 1, pp. 25, 44, Recueil XIII 65, XX, 174.

49.

Tenm]ay ma[b]iy uenn[]y[]w[+ [ui] + [ui]

"[The] Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, the holy [], the virtues of the Holy Ghost(r), the ...[, our] mother Mary, our ["

50.

Р пішт п

шунре пепне[ү]

ме єтоуав

міхана гав

5 ріна пенішт

апа өшмас

апа петре

апа ішснф апа

аноуп апа па

моун пеішт

рмвоу етоуав аре
пемеєуоу гамны

"The Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost; Michael, Gabriel; our father Apa Thomas, Apa Peter, Apa Joseph, Apa Anoup, Apa Pamoun, father, have mind of us (?). Amen." Six more illegible lines.

5I.

Compare with this no. 48.

[+ пі] шт [мипфире м] ипепиа етоуаав [теп]маау маріа ин[

]иеюте ихи[ос

Гтолос

5

] τωί[γ] πγ con[cnaλ

]אג ש. חח. א[

⁽¹⁾ As in Saggara no. 203 (cf. Thompson's note).

15

ΦΑΓΙΟΓΟ ΑΠΑ Κ]ΟΛΛΟΥΟΟΟ ΑΠ[Α]. 11. ΑΡ. ΠΑ[] ΑΠΑ πλη[μοντε] Μμλπλ Ανογή απα φοιβαμ[ων] απα јиое <u>и</u>ьт[ме] цеи JORE NENNIL лоп Г επα δί] απα πγοιπα απα ωλλοπα [Απα]HY[.] AND $[\phi OI]BAMMW[II]$ IMA[P]TY[POC] AND θω[м] ΔC ΔΠΑ ΠΕΤΡΕ ΔΠΑ ΙΨΟΚΗΦ ΑΠΑ ΑΝΟΥΠ ΑΠΑ ΠΑ[ΜΟΥΝ] ARA CETEMAN[6] ARA IOYCTE ARA ENUX RENEIUT ју фім[ап јмі[TOC TIPPO HAIKAIOC API TNPOI[I]CA2 TACON TAJAKOJI II...[TIWT INACON FEW [PF] 6 KO [YI] ווא[] שא[גס] אוו [

doil

ΒΑΝΝ[ΦΙΙ ΠΑΟΟΙΙ] ΗΟΔΙΑΟ ΠΑΟΟΝ ΠΕΤ[ΡΕ] ΠΑΟΟΙΙ []אווג[.]ח[.]אוו[м[н]на ко[уг BOY]. HT[]TPAAC NALA[ן ווא וסוולנוֹן 20 2AMINI C

5, ? AHOAAW.

8. ? OVANJOBP NEUEITOTE IIJNOS.

9. Or DOIBAM[MODII, but unlikely; cf. l. 10. 20. c[$? = 9[\theta]$

["The Fathler [and the Son etc.; our] mother Mary, Ifathers the Ap[ostles, Alpa Son[snaw(1), T |5|]Apollo (?)[], the holy [Apa K]ollouthus(2), Apa], Apa Pap[noute] and Apa Anoup, Apa Phoebamm[ôn], Apa, Apa Wenlofer; our [fathers the] great men, our [father Apa] Apollo, Apa Anoup, Apa Phib (3), [10], Apa [Phoe]bammôn the martyr; Apa Thomas, Apa Peter, Apa Joseph, Apa Anoup, Apa Pa[moun(4), 1, Apa Germanus, Apa Justus, Apa Enoch (5), our father [], our father

⁽¹⁾ V. 3o.

⁽²⁾ V. 47.

⁽³⁾ One might here read Procebammon as an error for Phib; if not, the next name looks like a woman's, preceded by AMA. Cf. 54.

⁽⁴⁾ In the series of "great men" none seems missing to fill this gap. Cf. especially 36.

⁽⁵⁾ Difficult to say whether this is the biblical Enoch (v. 66), or another abbot added to the usual series. The Enoch so frequently met with in our ostraca was at a time steward, perhaps eventually abbot.

 $S[\]$ us, the righteous king(1), have [mind of(2)] the] master(?) my brother the deacon [$|\tau_5|$], my brother George the less, [], my brother Ap[ol]lo, [Phoe]bamm[ôn, my brother] Esaias, my brother Peter, my brother [] Mêna the less [] $|z_0|$ Amen, am[en (?)] I know not ["

TEXTS.

52.

Some 17 lines, whereof but little is legible. In 1. 5 "our father Moses (3) and our father Adam"; in 8 ff. "our father Peter (4), our father John (GIOZANIHC) the Baptist, our father John the Virgin (ПАРОЕНОС), our fathers the Apostles, our fathers the Martyrs." The names following included Phoebammôn and Philotheus.

53.
+ пішт пш
нрє пепіла є
тоуаав апа
ешмас а
[па

"The Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost; Apa Thomas, A[pa]"

54.

An ostracon (5).

непих етоуаав.[+ пешт п[фнге] мар]

⁽¹⁾ Biblical or Byzantine (e. g. Constantine)? In Saqqara 203 and Rossi I, III, 60 "the righteous kings" invoked are clearly those of the Old Testament (cf. Eccli. XLIX, 4).

⁽²⁾ From here an unusual number of those commemorated, ending with the scribe's excuses for his shortcomings.

⁽³⁾ Biblical.

⁽⁴⁾ The Apostle.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. 61 etc.

түрос ії воме: міліс[

апа вомас: мізпа [петре]

мізпа ї оснф: міз[па амоу п]

мізпа памоун [

мізпа ї оусте [

апа амі

"The Father, the [Son], the Holy Ghost. [Saint?] Peter(τ). The seven martyrs of Thône(2) and the [] |5| Apa Thomas and Apa [Peter] and Apa Joseph and A[pa Anoup] and Apa Pamoun [(3)] and Apa Justus [and] Apa Am(4)[."

55.

ниоуте пагавос арі пмеєўе муаг наполам мипапиоўте пфів напоўте пагавос арі пмеєўе муаг напоўте пагавос арі пмеєўе муаг

- 5 2ΑΝΙΙΗC ΠΑΥΛΕ ΜΙΙΖΑΛΕ ΜΝΖΏΡ
 ΠΕΤΟΥΑΛΕ [ΤΗ]ΡΟΥ ΝΤΑ(Υ)Ρ ΠΟΥϢϢ
 ΜΠΙΙ[Ο]ΥΤ[Ε] ΧΙΝ[Μ]ΠΕΝΙϢΤ ΑΛΑΜ ϢΑ
 2ΡΑΙ Ε[ΠΟ]ΟΥ 1120ΟΥ ΑΡΙ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ
 1ΙΝ[]ΧΟΣ ΜΝΠ[Π]ΑΠΑ ΦΟΙΒΑ
 sic ΚΟΥΙ
- то ммшн [] эпэ з прмеюм эноүп пэмре мн[п]пэпэ о[үе]ночр прмеюм соүроүс [п]етре фів
- 3. ? nothing before Φ.
- 11. Сору рмсон.
- 12. Сору []спе.

(1) The letter before the bracket is tailed, $\phi[\Delta \Gamma IOC]$?

⁽²⁾ Seven martyrs of Thône are well known. They are invoked on a stele, Mél. d'Arch. II, 175. The letter in 3 before the bracket is not H (WHPE). V. Synaxarium, 29th Baûnah.

⁽³⁾ Here either "Apa Germanus", or nothing.

⁽⁴⁾ Either an addition to the usual group, the first name of a different one, or that of the person commemorated.

"Good God, have mind of the master Elias(1) and Peter and Mark and Hôr and Apollo and Papnoute, Phib, Victor and Anoup, Phoebammôn and |5| John, Paul and Hale and Hôr, all the saints that have done the will of God(2), from our father Adam until this day, have mind of [] and the papa Phoebammôn, |10| [and] Apa Akoui of Iom(3), Anoup the baker and [the] papa Wenofer of Iom, Sourous, Peter (?), Phib, Apollo."

56.

пасон віктфр мінфалініс
мифоїваммфи мизфр мінало
алф міланоўп мінфуле
мизале пасон аноўп па
5 мре пп[апа] оўеночр ми]артас
прміом пноўте іі теўзан [евол] ена

 $\frac{1C}{N} \frac{\lambda C}{\lambda C}$ DIKY

"My brother Victor (4) and John and Phoebammôn and Hôr and Apollo and Anoup and Hôr and Paul and Hale (5), my brother Anoup the |s| baker, the p[apa] Wenofer and [Zach]arias (?), men of Iom (6). God, bring their life to a good end." Below, $I(\eta \sigma \sigma \tilde{\nu}) \in X(\rho \iota \sigma \tilde{\tau}) \in N \iota \chi \tilde{\alpha}$.

⁽¹⁾ But for the first three names, the list is that of 56, though in different sequence.

⁽²⁾ As in Mél. d'Arch. II, 175, Saqqara 203.

⁽³⁾ V. 56.

⁽⁴⁾ It will be seen that these names are found already in 55, though the sequence is different. Who are they? The names of the "great men", Apollo, Anoup and Phib, are indeed among them; but not grouped together. Victor, John and Phoebammon might be the martyrs, though here "my brother" seems to forbid this. To which of them does "men of lom" refer and to how many of them the closing prayer?

⁽⁵⁾ Recurs BM. 1036, 1096 and (2AAH) in a Balaiza fragt. It can scarcely be (as I suggested) for Muslim Ali, in a Christian text such as this one. Possibly, but improbably, the same as 2APE, Ryl. 143. Cf. TEPWT 2AAE, a place, Ryl. 196n.

⁽⁶⁾ Recurs thus in our ostraca and in D. el Gebrawi II, pl. XXIX (3), Baouit II, 111 (but ib. 142 IIIOM), ZOEGA 240. On a stele seen at a Cairo

57.

Now in the British Museum.

[API II]MEGY[E M

MNAHA HAY[AE M]

112WP A9MT[ON MMOU NCOYX]

OYTCNOOY[C N 211]

5 OVERHUH [2AMHN

Paul and Hôr are, among others, commemorated here (τ) , but the 3d. sing. "he died" makes (1.3) the real intention of the stele doubtful (2).

58.

ANA (A)NOAAW ANA ANOYN ANA Θ WM \lceil AC

"Apa (A)pollo, Apa Anoup; Apa Thomas [".

59.

апа өшмас апа петре апа ішснф апа аноуп 5 апа памоуп арі пмеоує [м] пасоп апа поє міп[ас]он фоівамші мппасон еншх пкшт

dealer's PMIIOM. Is it the Fayyûm? In Fayyûmic documents it is not so written, the present form being found only around or S. of Ashmunain. "Man of Fayyûm" is rare with PM- (HYVERNAT, Actes 100, cf. Ryl. 277). A curious man's name twice at Saqqara is Paiom. But I can recall no parallel which would explain this as the possessive + place-name.

⁽¹⁾ Cf. 55. 56.

⁽²⁾ One might of course read TACO]N 2COP "my brother Hôr", who would thus be the deceased.

- 7. Copy 11ω6.
- 8. Сору фюв-.
- 9. Leg.? пекшт.

"Apa Thomas, Apa Peter, Apa Joseph, Apa Anoup, |5| Apa Pamoun, have mind of my brother Apa Nog and my brother Phoebammôn and my brother Enoch the builder (?)."

60.

+ пиоуте пакае
ос апа ефмас
миечсин[у] пае
се па[соп а]полаф
прму[]ф...
мипа[соп] ю2
ап(н)с прмпгаее
.+ че гамни

"Good God, Apa Thomas and his brethren, Paese (?). My [brother A]pollo [5] of Ps[] and my [brother] John of Hage. Amen, amen."

бι.

An ostracon.

(+ πνογ]τε πάτα
ε[ος αρι π]μεεγε
π[απα πα]μεε πρω
πε.[... αν]μτον
πω[α πεο]γχογ
ωτ π[παφω]νε
2νογει[ρηνη]
2[αμην]

Draft for or copy of an epitaph.

"Good God; [have] mind of [Apa Pa]êse of Pbê[shn?(1). He] went |5| to rest [on] the 20th day of [Pashô]ns, in pe[ace.] A[men.]"

⁽¹⁾ Cf. 63. But the 3d letter is not like an 11.

62

An ostracon.

Р ппоуте па канос арі пебу (sic) є мпасоті сіре коут замні

Similar to the preceding epitaphs, but without date.

"Good God, have mind of my brother Sire(1) the less.

Amen."

63.

ппоуте паганос
арі пмеєує папа па
термоуте прмпвнф
ачмтоп ммоч псоу
5 хоушт мпармоу
те замнії

Copy of an epitaph, or a prayer, like the preceding.

"Good God, have mind of Apa Patermoute, of Pbêshen(2).

He went to rest on the 20th of Parmoute. Amen."

64.

An ostracon.

па]канос арі пр. пе п]тауєр макаріос п]амоуп промтерчою[]псоумптачте[]сімоне птав[м]пафо[пс

⁽¹⁾ A name familiar in Middle Egypt, PEET, Cemet. Abydos III, 39, P. Lond. IV, no. 1538 (cf. there the Greek form Σῖρος). Sometimes with Apa: KRALL, CCLII, Ryl. 227. Possibly a derivate of Osiris (ôsire, ousire in Coptic, Berichte Leipzig. Akad., 26. Juli 1902, pp. 140, 141). The name Sirûs (è Surûs) at Esneh (Synax. ed. FORGET 1, 333) is hardly the same.

⁽²⁾ Recurs here 81 and Newberry, Beni Hasan II, 67. Now El-Feshn.

Copy of an epitaph.

"Good [God], remember(1) [those?] that have become blessed(2), [namely] Pamoun of Terfshô[(3) who went to rest] on the 14th [of] Simothe(4), who [went to rest on the] of Pashons(?)["

65.

Now in the British Museum.

"... Apa Phoeb]amon (5), have mind of my sister Stephane (6), who [went to rest..."

66.

and c[].pg., hengiwt mwychc and enwx herpa[mma]teyc, and iephmiac, and hanoze, and anox(a)w nog, and anoyh, and hwai nïep, and hanoyh h \overline{p} m[

⁽¹⁾ Looks like npeckeye; but could that be used here?

⁽²⁾ I. e. died; cf. μαχαρίτης γενέσθαι. A Coptic instance, Zoega 284, 34.

⁽³⁾ Probably includes the word now written Turfah (Amélineau Géogr. 492, Abû Sâlih f. 74b; cf. also Patr. Or. V, 782). The ô here is doubtful.

⁽⁴⁾ This name (a saint invoked) at Abydos (PEET, Cemet. Ab. Ill 39) and Bawit (Cairo Catal. 8781).

⁽⁵⁾ Unlikely with O, but this saint is constantly invoked and no other reading suggests itself.

^{(6)?} An error for Stephanou(s). For "my sister" cf. 38.

"Apa S[]. re., our father Moses (1), Apa Enoch the Scribe (2), Apa Jeremias, Apa Papohe (3), Apa Apollo the great, Apa Anoup, Apa Pshai of Jer(emias) (4), Apa Pamoun of (5)["

67.

HONTE POGIC CHEMA NEP 2008 API IMEGYE ANOTI NECTIHY II HAITOROC [2A]MHN

- 4. Quite uncertain.
- Сору пап. . тос.

"God watch over our workshop (6). Have mind of us, the brethren (?) of this τόπος. Amen."

68.

[+ 1]C NC POIC GRACO!!
IGPHMIAC [KO]YI RYAI!!
The rest illegible.

"Jesus Christ, watch over my brother Jeremias the less, the dealer in [."

⁽¹⁾ Cf. 52.

⁽²⁾ On the biblical Enoch thus invoked on stelae v. Thompson in Quibell's Saqqara 1912, 48 and references; also Crum, Theolog. Texts, no. 3.

⁽³⁾ Presumably Apollo's disciple (.ig. Z. XL, 61), though placed before him.

⁽⁴⁾ L. c.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. 32. Not the local worthy, so often among Thomas's successors. P. of Hnes is invoked Saqqara no. 266; another in D. el Gebrawi II, pl. XXIX and a saint so named in Mél. d'Arch. II, 175, Baouit II (1916), 44, Saqq. nos. 176, 240. Cf. also the martyr, BM. 344, whose companion's name, Sarmata, is often among those invoked at the Jeremias monastery (cf.? the reference 10 "Vandals" there in Itin. Theodos., Krall LXXXVI).

⁽⁶⁾ Perhaps in the sense of ἐργασία "way of life, occupation" (often in Apophth. Patr., v. Hopfner in Vienna Denkschr. 62, II, p. 33), rather than ἐργαστήριου.

69.

ГС РОСІС САПОЛЛШ ПРМИМАМ СШС АМИИ

"Jesus, watch over Apollo, of Mameshe (t). Amen."

70.

+ IC XC POIC EUYCON IM[

"Jesus Christ, watch over my brother Jo[hn? Joseph?"

71.

исвесон замни мицфанос певсон замни

2. Copy Nen.

"Jesus. Thomas the less and Phanos (?) (2), his brother. Amen."

72.

IC XC TEPHMIAC MNANOAAW NEGON ZAM[H]
N EGEW)
WITE

2. Copy nn.

"Jesus Christ. Jeremias and Apollo his brother. Amen. So be it."

5

⁽¹⁾ Reading doubtful. Unidentified.

⁽²⁾ For? Stephanus, among the modern Copts "Fanous". Coptica. I.I.

73.

Among rough drawings of 3 sailing boats.

+ ic ο αγίος απα ανούπ νος βοις φπ... ο 5. ς κο(γ)ι πνη ο

"Jesus, the holy Apa Anoup the great(1), watch over Ph...us the less, the sailor(2)."

Beside one ship, and ownac "Apa Thomas."

74.

+ \$\psi_2 26\alpha \text{COC} + MN \\
\text{6NWX KOYI} \\
\text{HEBCBOYI}

"The master Elias, the mason, and Enoch the less, his apprentice."

75.

памоуде плагсшс

"Pamoute the mason" (3).

76.

(а) фаг амшие пекшт

"The master Ammonius, the builder."

(b) пмакарюс ψ аг апа апоуп пек ω т Сору то макарюс

"The blessed (= deceased) master Apa Anoup, the builder."

⁽¹⁾ Cf. 29.

⁽²⁾ The O after NE4, if indeed it is to be so read, should = "great", and mean ναύχληρος, or the like.

⁽³⁾ Another graffito has πλΜΟΥΤΕ, a name found in a Shenoute text, Paris 131', 46 (= Ms. of BM. 175 etc.). The 2d word is λαξός.

(с) мптооу мпесспозе

"Of the hill of Pesgpohe(1)."

77.

TACON

TAHCE

TPMTANN

ATOY

3. Copy or TANAI.

"My brother Paêse of Tannatou(2)."

78.

ПАСОМ М

АКАРЕ ПРМ

ТААВІ[

"My brother Macarius of Talbi[(3)."

79• + папа па тнр коуі көф[

"Papa Patêr, the less."

L. 3 repeats the name in cryptogram.

80. + пауле касе

"Paul, (the) tanner (?)(4)."

⁽¹⁾ Pshge-pohe, in the story of Paul of Tamma (Miss. franç. IV, 763), apparently N. of Siût. Cf. the probable situation of Pohe (Bouha), opposite Manfalût. In a Denderah graffito (copy N. de G. Davies) is invoked Moses of TECHGEPCHE (leg.? TECHGEROZE), with John of Abôt (Abydos).

⁽²⁾ Unidentified.

⁽³⁾ Reading doubtful. Unidentified.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. 29.

81.

устанаи тенали

"Apollo (of) Pbêshn(1)."

82.

макаре песфф

"I Macarius the Ethiopian."

83.

пекспенішт апа пауле [].т полетіа іі ... внііт петгосе

About 12 more lines whereof only a few letters visible.

"Our other father (2) Apa Paul [] the religious life (πολιτεία)..."

84.

በєпішт ልпа гермапіс

Cf. next number.

"Our father Apa Germanus."

An ostracon.

85.

п]загюс а]па герм

ч]ө

Cf. the Germanus invoked in 48, where he seems to be separated (though perhaps accidentally) from the local group, Thomas etc. No such saint occurs in the Coptic calendar.

⁽¹⁾ V. 63.

⁽²⁾ This peculiar use of KG- seems to show that "our father" could be regarded, when a title, as a single word, just as TACOM "my brother" was. Cf. 174 n.

Letters.

86.

₽ їшганній петсгаї небуна папоіг же епма мпгшв мпе шиє снау бунтоотч мппапа гешрге ф мнтє ммааже псоуо нач гарооу мпрєш оун нат таау оужаї 211п[

"John it is writes to Theôna, of Poih(1), (saying,) As regards the matter of the 2 nets that are in the hands |5| of the papa(2) George, give him 10 maaje of corn for them. Do not, then, delay giving them. Farewell in the [Lord]."

87.

+ AANIHA 2MINIA' MIT[NOYTE]

TAPMAÑ TY[C2]AÏ HAT[A]

ό2AHIHC [M]TMA H[.]

TXIP XEAPI [T]2Œ4 NK

ME2 CHTE H[AA]2H HXI[P]

UKTI TIOY N[Z]ECT/ HXI[P]

ETAA2H [TOY]A ECTIH

MHT N[ZECT/

⁽¹⁾ Scarcely the half-legible place following the name of Theôna in 109. One is tempted to read 11201, as in BM. 1130, 11.

⁽²⁾ This title, ubiquitons in Middle Egypt, the Fayyûm and Nitria, unknown in the south, appears to be borne by the various orders of clerics (a deacon, Saqqara no. 319, priests BM. 1130). That it is not merely $\lambda \Pi \lambda + \Pi$ is shown by such cases as BM. 1235; yet in ib. 529 it may be this. Note too that in Saqqara no. 295, Hor is invoked as $\Pi \lambda \Pi \lambda$, but in 26, 36, 76 as $\lambda \Pi \lambda$. Cf. notes on BM. 544, 1130. In 93 here the title alone shows its use as? = priest. In W. Hengstenberg's Kopt. Papyri (Munich, J. Rosenthal, 1914), no. 2, the same man is called $\Pi \lambda \Pi \lambda$ and (l. 4) $\pi \rho \epsilon (\sigma \beta \delta \tau \epsilon \rho \epsilon)$. In P. Lond. II, 417, p. 299 the word = priest of a village.

"Daniel(1), by the mercy of God, archimandrite, writes to Apa John of the pickle store(?)(2) (saying), Be so good and (5) fill 2 lahê(3) with pickle and give 5 xestes of pickle to the lahê, that is(4) 10 xestes ..."

88.

Р ЕР ТАГАПН ПГ ВТО П СООУНЕ НМЖША ППА ПА ТИЗАННО ФЕВЕТШРЕ ПЕ ПАТ КАТА ӨЕ ПТАК ЖООС ЖЕМАІВШК Е ВОЛ НАТОУПРНЩ А ЖООС ЕРОК ЖЕЩАРЕ НЕСННУ 20ВЕСК Р НОУТАЛУ НАВ ТАЛС ППЛАСОН ПЕШЛ 21TH ЕНШХ ПОТКОНО МОС Р

"Be so kind and give 4 sacks of onions to papa John; for he is the (5). As you |s| said, I will not go forth without a cloak (6), say to yourself, The brethren will cover you. (So) now give them to him. Give it to |10| my brother Pgôl, from Enoch the steward."

⁽¹⁾ Cf. 161.

⁽²⁾ Possibly 11 was the last letter in 3 (if so, NOΥTE in 1 was abbreviated). Otherwise one might read 11+, though this should be 11+ ×1P GBOA.

⁽³⁾ On this measure v. General Introduction, Metrology.

⁽⁴⁾ This Greek phrase recurs in BM. 1113.

^{(5) 26}B6TOPE recalls 26M6TOPE, 2MNTOPE Rossi, Pap. II, 1, 7 and 33. But this remains to be explained and to be distinguished from (or identified with) 2MNTOPH CRUM, ST. 294, 311, or 2MNTOP, ib. 331.

⁽⁶⁾ Might be read ΝΑΤΟΥΠΡΗ ω) A "ere the sun rise", were not ΟΥ-a difficulty and did not the next phrase suggest the present version, ungrammatical though it be (AXOOC should be AXIC).

89.

+
+ endx писгаї мпа
сон стефане поік/ же
еіс пасон ендх ачеі егр
аї нак мареуті
фомте ммааже
нарфін нач мн
оїпе сите пвине
мноуфорос ннрп
[ас] еф[фп]е мн

From Enoch to Stephen, who recurs in 188, 376 and probably 184.

"Enoch it is writes to my brother Stephen, the steward, (saying), Lo, my brother Enoch is come down (? up) to you. Let him be given |s| 3 maaje of lentils and 2 oipe(1) of dates and a phoros of [old?] wine(2). If [. . "

go.

+ АРІ ТАГАПН . ПГТІ СПТЕ МФОРОС МП МПТСПООУС ПЛАКОН НЕРП АС ППАПА

5 АНАРЕАС АУШ АНАУ ЕПЩОЩТ НЕПЕНІПЕ МПТСИТЕ НАСФА . . МПЛАЛЕЗОІР НИЛАУ

The text is continued apparently on g1, which was part of the same pot.

⁽¹⁾ Cf. BELL in P. Lond. V, p. 158 ff.

⁽²⁾ Cf. 90 etc.

"Be so kind and give 2 phoros and 13 lakon of old wine (1) to papa |s| Andrew. And see to the iron keys and the 2...(2) of Plalehoire (3)...

91.

+ ΑΥΦ ΜΟΥ2 ΤΕΥ 6ΑΑΙΤΕ ΙΙΠΕ2 · ΠΑΥ ΜΙΠΙΟΥ2ΟΤΌ ΠΕΡ. Π ΑΟ ΤΑΑΟ ΝΑΠΑ 2ΦΡ 2ΙΤΝΠΑΟΟΙ ΠΑΠΝΟΥΤΕ

This is the conclusion, it seems, of the text on 90, though written on the left of it.

"And fill their kolathe (?) (4) with oil for them and their hots with old wine. Give it to Apa Hôr (5), from my brother Papnoute."

92.

ΤΆΑς ΙΠΠ
[ΔΠΙΙ]ΟΥΤΕ 21
ΤΠΠΕΘΙΙΦΤ

ΣΕΥ ΦΟΡΗς ΌΤΤΕ ΙΠΙ
5 ΘΡΠ ΠΑΪ ΜΊΙΟΟ ΠΕΟΥΠΕ
ΜΕΛΑΘΕ ΜΠΠΑΛΚΟΠ ΠΠ
62 ΜΠΜΙΤΤ ΊΒΗΡ ΠΦΤΕ
ΜΕΛΑ ΑΥΦ ΜΕΖ ΠΑΡΦΪ ΠΠΕ
9 ΠΠΑΙΦΤ ΑΥΦ ΧΟΥΟΟΥ ΠΑΙ
6 ΠΠΙΙΑΥ ΑΥΦ ΧΕΥ ΟΥΦΟΡΗς ΠΤΑ
ΡΙΧΕ ΠΑΙΙ ΜΠΟΥΦΟΡΗς ΠΖΕΜΧ ΠΟ

Opposed to MPIC mustum, γλεύχος in Krall CCXXXIV, Ryl. 158.
 Cf. also CO. 235.

⁽²⁾ Λσφαλές could scarcely be treated as feminine.

⁽³⁾ V. 139. IIIAY presumably for IIAY; cf. 91.

⁽⁴⁾ Κόλλαθον is sometimes a measure of liquids (BM. 1129, ? 1041), but our word scarcely looks like a form of it.

⁽⁵⁾ Also addressed in other letters.

ΥΡΟΥΤΩΙΙ ΆΥΩ ΧΕΥ GOMHT ΠΣΕΟ ΤΗΟ ΠΧΪΡ ΝΑΜΟΚΡΕ ΠΑΠ ΆΥΩ ΧΕΥ ΒΤΟ NOINE ΠΟΟΥΟ ΝΟΙΚΕ NATI EBOA

"Give it to Papnoute, from his father. Send me 2 phoros of |5| wine and 6 bags of loaves and the jar of oil and 10 baskets of salt-....(1). And fill the....(2) of wine for (3) my father and send them me |10| at once. And send us a phoros of salt-fish and a phoros of(3) vinegar. And send us 3 xestes of pickle of(4). And send us out 4 oipe of corn for grinding (5)."

93.

пСΓ л. тірэм заен менГ ет∈кмитїш[т ΤΠΟΟΥ ΦΜΟΥΠ [ΠΕΑΜΟΥΑ ΠΑΠ] Τλμοτπογ μαίμ API тагалн йгтеү м[HEAVE HAH AAM ALUEA OA] сон евох мішусон фі[HCOYEP SATOYOU SMIT. MOH GIC HACOH HARHOYTE $\omega[\omega]$ HE AVO HEAHAHA WAB EP OYKOYI NEKOT MECCIC ΟΙΙ ΦΑΤΦΟΥΙΙ ΠΕΚΑΚΑ ΕΒΟΑ + AYW BI IPOOYU) HUJOMHT TIGAMOYA TIHPH HALL SATIL . . CHAHOY EPWANTIEGAMOY[A]

т 5

⁽¹⁾ Cf. 164, where this unknown word perhaps recurs.

⁽²⁾ A measure? But the reading is uncertain. Perhaps TI "five", and not the article precedes it.

⁽³⁾ Cf. 186.

⁽⁴⁾ Looks like a foreign word; presumably indicates the kind of pickle.

⁽⁵⁾ COKE night be read.

20

EI E2AI EYOTTI NCIM XOOYCO[Y] NAN EBOA TAHOT[TOY] NEI E2AI + OYXAI 2MTXOEIC

"...] it is [writes to his] dear [father....]. Before [all things I.....] your fathership [.....] |s| send 8 [camels], that we may (?) load them with fodder (?). [Be so] kind and send (?) (1) [.....] loaves to us and [send?] out the (?) brother and my brother Phi[...], |10| that they may stay with us in [.....]. For lo, my brother Papnoute is sick (?), and the papa(2) too will pay (him) a little visit (?). And afterwards he (?) will raise (3)

| solution | And provide 3 good camels (4) for wine for us.... When the camels come up (? down) loaded with fodder, send them out (5) to us, that we may (?) load them (with the wine) for coming down (? up). Farewell in the Lord."

94.

Р ТААС МПАЇШТ АПА ЇОЎСТЄ 21ТІНЕСННУ МПОЗЕ АРІ ТАГАПН ЖЕЎ ПІСАМОЎА ТН РОЎ НАН НСЕСЕКЕЗ ППЕЇВНТ 6 ЕММОН ФАНЕЇ ЕЗРАЇ ПТЕЎФН МПФА

"Give it to my father, Apa Justus, from the brethren of Pohe (6). Be so kind, send us all the camels, that they

 $^{(1) \ \} T \in \gamma? = TN \in \gamma. \ \ Cf. \ \ here \ \ T\lambda(P) \ N-, \ \ MG(NN)CWC, \ \ G2(P)\lambda I, \ \ \omega\lambda(K?)-.$

⁽²⁾ Cf. 86 n. Here? "the priest".

⁽³⁾ Quite uncertain. Since 116- looks like 2d sing., one might read (3) (K) THOY II. But 6KAKA may be a noun (? cf. CHECAKEA BUDGE Misc. 6).

⁽⁴⁾ Or "camel (loads)", as in 204 etc. Cf. Introduction, § Metrology.

^{(5) &}quot;Out", with verbs of sending, going, coming, generally indicates motion from the desert to the Nile valley.

⁽⁶⁾ Recurs probably Ryl. 255. Pohe (n)nekam is a place in W. HENGSTENBERG, Kopt. Papyri (Munich, J. Rosenthal, 1914), no. 4. Cf.? Bûhê, near Manfalût. On the northern side of Siût we find Peshgepohe (ZOEGA 307, cf. 76 above). But

may clear out (1) these palm-branches. For we will come up (? down) on the night of the feast."

95.

+ XI NEBEAXE NEMANGAMOYA
МПКУРІС САРАПІФНІ АУФ ЄІМЕ
ЖЕЄУОУ НАК ТААС МПАСОН
ПАПНОУТЕ ПОІКОНОМОС

2 ITNEHWX ПЕЧЕІФТ +
АУФ ОУА2ОУ ЄПМА
ПТАКХООС ЄРОЇ

"Take the potsherds of the camelherds to master Sarapion and learn what they are (worth) to you(2). Give it to my brother Papnoute the steward, from Enoch, his father. And leave them (3) in the place you told me of."

96.

Papyrus.

п]ечсгаї мпечмерїт исои апа віктшр пархіма[идрітно мп]тооу етоуаав гмпхоєїс хереде мпма иєщин $[\gamma]$ доу хе. $\overline{\mathbf{n}}$ м[...]тримисеи [

verso

+ TAAC ENACON BIKTOP 21TN[

more likely here than these is Bûhê بوها in the neighbourhood of Kâw (Amé-LINEAU, Géogr. 584). According to Spiegelberg Pohe is also one of the names of El-Hibeh, S. of Feshn (Äg. Z. LlII, 3).

⁽¹⁾ So far only known as Bohairic, This seems to be the absolute form.

⁽²⁾ The ambiguity of prepositions makes the meaning of this sentence doubtful.

⁽³⁾ The potsherds, which doubtless bore receipts. Perhaps some of the identical ostraca here edited, e. g. 205 ff.

"... writes to his dear brother Apa Victor, the archimandrite (?) of the Holy Mount(1). Hail in the Lord. As regards the nets..... tremis......3(?) large lahê to you ... Give it to my brother Victor, from ..."

97.

+

4 знсајас пев
сзај мпечсој
пмашоуте папа[
пејкономос же[
маретекми[тсој
пјеамоуа[
псоунитоу[

"Esaias it is writes to his pious brother Papnoute, the steward(2), (saying), Let your fraternity [] the camels [] their price [."

98.

+
+ паппоуте
поік/ [пч]
сгаї . пенфх
[же]аїтнооу нак же
5]пїф наї мії[
]актнооу [..]

"Papnoute, the steward [it is] writes to Enoch, (saying), I sent to you, (saying), [Send?] the ass to me and [.....] you sent["

⁽¹⁾ Is this the Holy Rock of Thomas? The letter being found at W. Sarga makes this not improbable. But cf. Ryl. 139.

⁽²⁾ Cf. 181.

99.

+ ARA GHOX G4C2A[I 11-]

RACON CHOX ROL...

NHECHY XEAPI TAFARH

HICKA NKOYÏ HIGHPG II.

2...... TIBA OY G2OYN

? OYON

L. 5. Or BAATOY.

"Apa Enoch writes to my brother Enoch, the steward (?) of Nesiêw (1), (saying), Be so kind and permit the boys ["

100.

ПАТНРМОҮТС ПСЧС2АЇ МПАСОП ПА пщие ерок ауш марепекиа тагоп[тное ппакапн пляшк езоүн епма ишшп[е HEROK GOOM CLEK [KYHCI] Y HENY ELEMOAMLE CA2HT MIMA LICHILARG [HE..]Y HEIGHO[M] HT THASC $\overline{\text{μςμου}}$ της μετά μετά $\overline{\text{μςμου}}$ της $\overline{\text{μςμου}}$ της AYO NEOMIC CTRANA HAI SICHOL WINCING AYW API TAFARH A счпотс вшк €[10 епеїкае пві T IAH TPOLON λγω χοογ Μητεθηοογε[+ CHITAT бабе наї споущал Р[

"Patermoute it is writes to my brother, the d[eacon.?..
...]. We greet you and may your pity reach us. [Do] the

⁽¹⁾ This place, occurring 7 times, may be compared with Ένσεύ, a village of the Hermopolite nome (P. Fior. I, p. 12, III, 46, BGU. IV, 1089; cf. Νεσευ in P. Cairo, vol. II). Generally written NECIEY, sometimes however (346, 353) NECIEC.

IOI.

+ теоуноу еткиа

хі птівнаже вшк

егоун епма нішещоте м[н]

тмаще мінестоур міноу

кеаколе пкан' павш' птепапа
пігну мінсш біж псіппон ала/

хооусоу наї псооути етсомте

ала/ пайтос жооусоу наі мінуен

е птехріа піщарепасон аполаш хоос

жеюуаще +

"As soon as you shall receive this potsherd, go in to the cell (lit. dwelling (4)), take the......(5) and |s| the balance and its ring and a ball of net cord, (belonging?) to papa Pihêw, and 6 "hands" of tow. (6) But send me them

⁽¹⁾ Cf. 101. Here it must comprise a group of monastic buildings, as it seems to do at Saqqara and Bawit.

⁽²⁾ A part of the church? MA TICYNATE in Rossi, Pap. I, III, 52 may be "chapels".

⁽³⁾ Cf. BM. 1128.

⁽⁴⁾ V. 100 n.

⁽⁵⁾ Both obscure words. With the second cf.? Rossi Pap. II, III, 44 ωμαστε, BM. 1090 ωμαστε, the former perhaps "pillow, cushion".

⁽⁶⁾ That στόππιον is flax-tow is clear from Paris 129¹⁶, 11 (cf. Zoega 239 n.): an Alexandrian trader bnys all the CIΠΠΟΝ from the fields which (the martyr) Paèse had sown with flax (MA2G). In Paris 44, 86b it is translated by mishākāh. But it is also a material for clothing, e. g. Mus. Guim. XVII, 218.

forthwith, to the But by all means send me them, with the remainder |10| of the things needful (1), whereof my brother Apollo says he wishes them."

102.

TEY WH THPC EM [πογ JEI EBOY 5WLL ТПУАН ЕМПОУ em Jaixanc Alabama IP TAITIE BE NTARTOYE **ЖООУ ЕРНС ЖЕМАРЕП** ΟΥΆ ΠΟΥΆ 6ω 2ΙΧΝΤΕΊ ΠΥΛΗ ΑΥΟ ΏΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ Ν теппед пашч мпеїхої EMON ANT TENSIX IN KOYÏ CON XENTNE[I] MUOOA ENET OASO λοκοτ/ Τλλς Μ π and π π π π π π TE 2ITNÏ(D2AN 15 печшнее

"..] all the night, they being [unable? to] come forth from the [] the gate (2) (and) unable [to remain?] there; and they were disquiet[ed. |s| And]so the dux (3) sent them southward, (saying), Let each one remain at his gate. And send out, so that we may arrange (4) the matter of the ship; |xo| for we have given our hand to the little brothers (5) that we would come today and pay a solidus. Give it to my father, Apa Justus, |xs| from John, his son."

⁽¹⁾ Xpela "property, belongings" similarly in Miss. IV, 729.

⁽²⁾ Cf.? a place to the north of Shmûn, THYAH N2OBN, Ryl. 364 u. Perhaps merely one of the town gates.

⁽³⁾ At Antinoe presumably.

⁽⁴⁾ Leg. п∈д6.

⁽⁵⁾ For + oix "promise" v. BM. 1137, Ryl. 357. "Little brothers", as contrasted with the "great brothers", the monastic magnates, dignitaries who represent the community in two papyri from Balaiza.

103.

Ψ ΑΡΙ ΤΑΚΑΠΕ ΠΤΕΥ ΠΟΥ ΕΚΑΧΪ ΤΕΪΒΑΧ ΜΑΡΕΟΥΑ 2ΠΠΕΟΠΗΥ ΒΌΚ Ε2ΗΤ ΠΒΜΟΥΤΠ ΠΕΊΑΘΟΟΥΡΕ ΜΟΠ ΤΕΙ ΧΡΪΑΤΕ: ΤΑΑС ΠΑ ΠΑ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΩΠ 2ΪΤΝΑΠΑ ΪΟΥСΤΕ ΠΕΒΪΏΤ +

From Justus, probably the recipient of 94, 102, 113.

"Be so kind, so soon as you receive this sherd, let one of the brethren go northward and let him satisfy (1) |5| this...(2); for there is need (to do so). Give it to Apa Phoebammôn, from Apa Justus, his father."

104.

Р ТААС Н АПА ЕНФХ ПОІ ХОНОМОС 21ТНПАСОН СНФХ СІС ГЕФР ГЕ ППЕЄВ МПАІВЕРНОС 5 АЧЕН НІАК ЄЗРАЇ АРІ ТА ГАПІН ВФК ЕПМА ТІПСАН ФВІНЕ НІММАЧ ЕММОН АУ ХООС ЖЕЄНОУЄФ ТМАФРТ МІПАЄВАН МІПКОУЇ МАФРТ

⁽¹⁾ Or "make terms with", v. KRALL CLVII; or "pay", v. Ryl. 343 n.; or possibly "summon", MOYT(E), cf. BAX(E).

⁽²⁾ Title or name? If the former, cf. perhaps ΠολΥΡΕ (LEMM, Bibelfr. 1, 267), though this may be but a descriptive epithet (cf. 600ΥΡΕ CSCO. 73, 46, 47 and σλΥλΕ ib. 59). One may however equally read λ600ΥΡ EMOIJ (as in 102, 106, 107 etc.) and see perhaps here a variant of 2λ60Ρ, in its original meaning, "messenger" (v. Sethe in Göttinger Nachr. 1916, 118 ff.; also Ryl. 224 and BM. 1075, λ60Ρ). The preceding demonstrative would make a name unlikely; but ΠΕΙ- ΤΕΙ- is really, the article, as so often in these texts.

· 10 ΜΠ6ΟΥΨ ΑΥΦ + ΚΕΧΟΥΦΤΕ Ν ΑΙΤΡΑ ΝΟΙΠΠΕ ΝΑΥ ₽ ΟΥΧΑΪ 2ΜΠΧΟΕΙΟ ₽

"Give it to Apa Enoch, the steward, from my brother Enoch. Lo, George, the sailor of the *libernus*(1) (ship) |5| is come up to you. Be so kind, go to the place of the palm-fibre dealers (2) with him; for they say, We want the cable (3) and the towing rope (4) and the small cable |10| of the (5). And give them other 20 litres of tow. (6) Farewell in the Lord."

105.

+ ап[
сгай на[
псайфвии[е
тнооу со йфо[
йсамоуа нан еп.[
йсооүти ауф екфан
ситоу икам тнооу
соу еутнк +

"Ap[a....it is] writes to [....], the palm-fibre worker, [(saying), be so kind,] send us 6...[|s| for (?) camels for [....] forthwith. And if you find as many (?) reeds, send them, in good condition."

⁽¹⁾ In Greek texts neuter, λίβυρνον or fem., λίβυρνός; but here and in QUIBELL-THOMPSON, Saggara no. 367, masc. The liburnus should be a war-ship; cf. GROSSE, Röm. Militārgesch., p. 77f.

⁽²⁾ Cf. Ryl. 217 n. for this material (σεβένιον), whence monkish clothing etc. was made. Rope of it, Hyvernat, Actes 166, P. Lond. IV, p. 129 n.

⁽³⁾ V. P. Lond. IV, p. VI. It further occurs, as anchor cable, in LAGARDE, Catenae 54, 100. Here both genders are given (readings certain). The other instances show none. Presumably it is masculine.

⁽⁴⁾ Preserved by ZOEGA, 614. Survives in modern Egypt as liban.

⁽⁵⁾ Looks like a Greek word: ? χύβος, ? χοπίς.

⁽⁶⁾ Makers of palm-fibre rope perhaps made others of tow, στίππιον. Cf. 101.
Coptica. III.
7

TOF.

тас напа еншх зітнпа[па]

то нсак : преш натеі е[вол]

женеўоўшся

женеўоўшся

"Before all things I greet you. Be so kind, send a little |s| wine out to the shepherds. For we gave them the 2 small hots and they said, We want 3 a day. Come out and satisfy them (1). And bring 2 maje of dates for them. Give it to Apa Enoch, from papa(2) |10| Isaac. Do not delay to come [out], for they have been idle (3)."

107.

₽ апа еншх печсгаї м
пасон кшсма жека вто
праїре савол зеноума
оуалоу пктї оукоуї пішт
ылу нтепеусшма ер
шау ерооу поукоуї ен
он еоушш еталу етще
лест мппакархос
паптос оуп мперсш
патер фшв

⁽I) Shepherds were considered troublesome people; criminals sometimes (Budge, Apoc. 106, RP. no. 54), or merely illbehaved (Synax. 16th Kihak in PO. III 470, ROC. 1912, 294, P. Lond. V 1682, Makrizi, Monast. no. 55, Churches no. 65). Pachomius, seeing them neglected, built them a church in the neighbouring desert (Vita, ASS., § 20). Cf. also P. Cairo Masp. 67002.

⁽²⁾ Or "brother", HA[CO11]. (3) Or "lest they be".

"Apa Enoch it is writes to my brother Cosma, (saying,) set 4 sucking-pigs(1) apart, in a place by themselves, and give them a little barley, |5| that their bodies may improve somewhat thereby. For it is desired to give them to the pagarch's bride. By all means, therefore, do not leave |10| the matter undone."

108.

+ АПАПНОУ
ТЕ ЕІ ЕЧЖШ
ММОС ЕРОЇ
ЖЕЕКАНАГК

5 АЗЕ НПКОУТ
ЕУС ЕНОУЗВ
ЕФОЇ ОУШЩ Н
ПРПАРАГЕ ППКОУ
ТЕУС ЩАНТОУША
ТСШЩЕ ЖЕКСО
ОУН ЖЕПКАІРОС П
ТСШЩЕПЕ ПАЇ

"Papnoute has come, telling me that you are compelling |s| the(2) to yoke (a beast to) the waterwheel (3). Please do not molest (?) (4) the until they harvest |so| the field; for you know that this is the season for (harvesting) the field."

109. + - + ΝΟΪ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ[....] ΠΤΕ ΤΝ2ω CIѼ ΝΧΟΘΙΟ ΝΕΙΦΤ Ν2Α2 ΝΟΟΠ

⁽¹⁾ PAAP in Ryl. 158, 159 is an element promised by husbandmen in their rent in kind. It recurs ib. 391. Fem. PAAPE appears thrice among gifts of farm produce in Krall CCXLII; also obscurely in BM. 1111. This probably is our word. Its meaning is now assured by Wesselv, Stud. XX 218, 29, where χοιράδα holds exactly the place of this in the identical formula.

⁽²⁾ Recurs Rev. ég. IV, 9 ΚΟΥΤΗΥC, and as ΚΟΥΑΕΟC in BM. 1130. Meaning uncertain. For? χουρεύς οτ σχυτεύς.

⁽³⁾ This phrase occurs in Ryl. 340. Cf. perhaps BWK πIW EΦOI, CO. 229.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. CO. 61 n. for this use of παράγειν.

менварос атетнві занафшот мії †пара калеї нтетнізосій неіот запі

калеї нтетнізосій неіот запі

прос тетнінос накапе етеоуен тітно езоуп етаметелахі

†пої гар жентаїтолма аїсзаї нтетні зосій неіот етті пара племпца

по алла † снігнюмі наї зніпікаїзов паі ауф тетнітітаске наї епетеффе зініетновооує етголю феупа пакал

"Indeed I know that [I have importuned?(1)] your most saintly(2) lord fathership many a time and you have borne with my needs and our burdens. I entreat your most saintly fathership regarding this |s| also (and) that you would complete your charity, in accordance with your great benevolence that you have toward my humility. For I know that I have been bold in writing to your most saintly, revered fathership, beyond my deserts. |10| But grant me indulgence(3) in this matter also and instruct me what is fitting by your sweet teaching. (From)(4) Theona, the"

110.

₽ юснф памре
птаві гмфої
мпсшм жемн апа
папоуте пеконо
мос жеті сооу піге
пакратні а
пкамалітно

^{(1) +21}CE or the like.

^{(2) &#}x27;Οσιώτατος usually indicates a bishop, sometimes an abbot. Here gender requires δσιοτής v. Ryl. 289 n.

⁽³⁾ As in RP. no. 11.

⁽⁴⁾ Before the name a short, wavey line, possibly aboreviating 21T11.

"Joseph the baker came from the vineyard meadow(1), (saying,) Did not Apa (?) Papnoute the steward say, Give 6... of pure (wine(2)) to the camelherds."

III.

[Р песину мпто]оу пталау бусган [мпенвішт пе]піскопос мпісак [пархнсум]махос женафетбен]алір гшв ксооун гар жімпі тенпросотос тімау женашнаг ар такапе оун маретек мінтхобіс келеоуе нікщащ пма тірч мініке ? мерн оун мон тіргшч гіке оуоп сшч[

"[The brethren(?) of the moun]t(?) of Talau(3) write [to our father(?) the] bishop and Isak [the chief cou]rier(4), (saying,) If(?) we neglect(?)(5) when working, for you(6) know that we have not |5| income whence to live, be so kind, then, let your lordship give order and render the whole place equal with the other parts . . . us, for we work in other |10| ones (? places)[

112.

+ + гаон мипфа[хе] тіааспасе итетм[иют тітамо тетмию[т геикерфме наи м[

5 TOK EYOA 2NEYXWM[

⁽¹⁾ In specific place-names 6WN occurs as Pgomentow P. Lond. IV 1419, 223, Pkaum(h)êt P. Cairo Masp. 67109, 25.

⁽²⁾ Cf. 180 n.

⁽³⁾ The monastery of Tarow at Aphrodito is sometimes written Talow; v. P. Lond. IV p. 589.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. 206. Whether such is the right translation here may be doubted. Cf. Bell in P. Lond. IV p. 163 n., Ryl. 258 n.

⁽⁵⁾ An unlikely translation (supposing ETHLAGETEI: cf. l. 5).

^{(6) 2}nd sing. is used throughout, clearly addressing the bishop.

WANEL XLIS NEOYEU L хіметле мятооГу п епкарт емои еје пеар[IMPENSEN OF KOTE Τ ΚΕΤΑΙΟΥ 119

мп]решпе ии.

"Before speech (of the matter), I salute your [father]ship [...] I inform your fathership [...] other men to us [...] |s|you out from his ...[....if] we need to display [....] from over 4 [...] for the building. For Io, the [...] we have not found means (to) build [....] to other 50 and he [....] seize (?) . . . [

113.

P TANC MILAMEPIT **ΠΕΙ**ΘΤ ΑΠΑ ΙΟΥ CTE 2ΙΤΝΠΑ ΓΠΝΟΥΤΕ арі тагапн иммаї єфффпе тиета итекное[пагапн 5 [.]AÏ EMMOH WA[TPIKET[loul

"Give it to my dear father, Apa Justus, from Pa[pnoute.] Be so kind to me, if (?) [...] we find (1) your great [...] to me (?). For [I?] will [

114.

+ DOIBAM πλ πλπειογ[τσ сгаї пстефан[ос пла] WANE XEKATA OF NITAKEI EBOY . LICYA OAMM [

^{(1) &}quot;Meet with, experience."

"Phoebam[mon Apa Papnoute (1) [. . . .] write (?) to Stephen [. . . . the la]shane, (saying,) According as [you?] departed yesterday, please (2) [

115.

+ 6Nωχ π6[4C2AI CON ΙωCΗ[φ ΘΕ ΝΤΑΪ2[Χ62MOO[C 5 ΚΑ...Τ[

"Enoch it is [writes to my] brother Joseph (3), (saying,) according as I b[ade] (saying,) Remain [

116.

4 таас пламері[т гітигнаакае[гафн мигфв пі[м . .]се итекме[

"Give it to my dear [....], from Heraclius (4) [...]. Before all things [I salu]te(?) your [

117.

? ?

те жеедфии ево[у маже молтук[жедифеууки з[өфмус жоол иі[меыд исои жо[

⁽¹⁾ Possibly Phoebammon's representative or scribe.

⁽²⁾ Cf. θέλησον.

⁽³⁾ Cf. 184.

⁽⁴⁾ With this perverted spelling cf. P. Lond. IV 1549, Hylaklei, and QUIBELL-THOMPSON, Saggara 293, Hêlagre.

+ TAAC NOT THE HACIAGOO [

Part of a letter, addressed to "[my] dear brother George, the hermit" (1), from Basil. The words visible are not consecutively intelligible. In 3 "the prison" is perhaps mentioned.

тт8.

]пниеч ппхоі 2]іттіпанаікеў]пфипатар^х хар]тоуларнс]папа васіле

Fragment in which occur "the sailors of the ship", from whom perhaps the letter emanates, though written by a "landagent" (2); also the addressee "the (?) son of Patarches" (3), the title chartularius and "Apa Basilius".

IIQ.

]ши пща пом п]ечсгаї мпп. ішгані]инс жеарі фшв

Fragment of a letter, showing the name Psha(4), followed probably by a title(5). The addressee's name is John.

⁽¹⁾ Έρημίτης seems to be used only here in Coptic texts, though found in Greek from Mid. Egypt. Presumably it is equivalent to ἀναχωρητής, common enough further south.

⁽²⁾ V. P. Lond. IV 1529.

⁽³⁾ We cannot read πάγαρχος, "the pagarch's son".

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. 153.

^{(5) ?} πο(πω) MAPITHC.

120.

ΟΥΝΑΪΘΗ
 ΑΪΒΦΚ
 ΕΠΨΟΥΦΤ ΤΑ ΜΟΥ2 ΜΜΟΟΥ
 ΟΥΧΑΪ 2ΜΠΧΟΘΙΟ

"...] them (?) to me [....] I went to the window to fill them. Farewell in the Lord"

Accounts.

121. Account of Wine.

Seven fragments. The accounts 121-125 are apparently all of the same character and probably all in the same hand. The appearance of the clay in 121 and 122 is indeed so similar that these fragments may all come from the same pot and perhaps belong to the same account; 122 might, for example, be part of col. 2 of 121, though, as the parts preserved are in any case not continuous, it is impossible to be sure of this; the moulding of the clay in two fragments of 122 is certainly rather in favour of the supposition.

As we have no general heading to any of these accounts and they are all extremely fragmentary, it is by no means easy to discover their character and the principle of their arrangement; and I must confess myself unable to put forward any quite convincing explanation.

The arrangement of the various accounts seems to be the same, except that in 121 each line begins with A/, whereas A/ does not occur in that position in 123. In 121 it is followed by omot/, and that by a number denoting the day of the month. Next comes the word $\phi_{OP}/$ preceded by a number, and followed by A/ with a name, usually of a camel-driver, after which comes an amount of wine. In 123 the day of the month (in ll. 1-9 expressed by $\delta\mu cl(\omega c)$, i. e. "ditto", referring to a previous number) begins the lines, which for the rest are identical in arrangement with those in 121. The first A/ in 121 no doubt refers to the

1

person responsible for the payment (if, which seems very unlikely, the wine is to be regarded as a rent in kind or other due) or consignment (if it is bought from a merchant or winegrower); the second A/ indicates the camel-driver through whom the wine is delivered; and $x \Leftrightarrow OP$ / clearly denotes the number of the payment or delivery ("first", "second" $\Leftrightarrow OP$ /). But what is the meaning of $\Leftrightarrow OP$ /?

If we take 123, which is clearer in its arrangement than 121, we find that ll. 1—9 refer to the same day, while in l. 10 000 to seems to indicate the beginning of a new day. Now in ll. 4 and 5 we have B \phop/, in ll. 6—9 \(\tau\phop/\), and in l. 10, which, as we have seen, begins a new day, \(\text{A}\phop/\). The \(\phop(\)) seem, then, to be arranged in order; the highest number in these accounts is three; and all three \(\phop(\)) occur or may occur each day.

This is on the whole borne out by 121, though there the arrangement is more confusing. A/OMOI/ no doubt means "by the same", referring to the consignor. The IA which occurs in ll. I and 2 is the day of the month. In 1. 1 we find the 1st φορ(), in 1, 2 the second. In 1, 3 instead of the day of the month and x dop/ we have T/B, followed immediately by A/ with the name of the camel-driver. In l. 4, where also the day of the month is omitted, occurs B dop/. Hence we may probably conclude that the B (the letter, though marked as doubtful, is almost certain) of l. 3 also refers to the φορ(); and τ/ may very possibly stand for της αὐτης (sc. ημέρας) or τη αὐτη; cf. P. Lond. IV 1433, 17 and passim, where τ^{η} has the same significance. Hence we are probably justified in regarding Il. 2-4 as containing deliveries of the second dop() on the 11th day of the month. In Il. 5 and 6 occurs the third $\phi op()$ for the same day, but in 1.7 we return to the first $\phi \circ \rho(\cdot)$ (the λ , though marked as doubtful, is again almost certain). In 1.8 ontol/ is followed by a word TOY., which is obscure. It may possibly be an attempt at Thoth, although in ll. 9 and 10 the word is correctly written, but is perhaps the name of a village (not impossibly royoy = Touhô; cf. 147, 13, note), the person for whom delivery is made being the same as in the previous lines but the estate different. This

too refers to the 11th day; the $\phi o_P(\)$ is the third. In ll. 9 and 10 respectively we have the first and the second $\phi o_P(\)$.

It will be seen that the arrangement is not so regular as in 123, but apparently here too the intention is to enter the deliveries according to the order of the ϕ op(); the exceptions are probably due to accidental omission at the proper place.

Since all the ϕ op() occur in a single day and with each new day the series begins afresh, we can hardly explain the word as signifying payments by instalments of an annual due, like, e. g., the three annual tax-payments. It should rather denote successive daily deliveries; and perhaps the likeliest explanation is that there were regular convoys (normally three each day, though higher numbers occur occasionally; e. g., in 368 we have apparently a fifth ϕ op/), and that wine received was entered in the day-book according to the convoy by which it came. We may then translate ϕ op() as either "convoy" or "delivery".

That this explanation, though not free from difficulties (see below), is the correct one, and that $\phi_{OP}(\cdot)$ is probably to be extended oppac, is strongly suggested by parallel instances. Thus in CRUM'S Short Texts, we find, in no. 128: "The account (λόγος) of corn brought (on camel): The first φορλ by our own camels. 16 artabae; the second ditto, 24; the third, 16; the fourth . . ." So too in Turaieff, Materiale, 1902, no. 29 (from Achmîm): "17 Epîp, for(?) Pgalashire, форра of corn, 24 artabae, for the monastery of ..."; no. 30, "poypa of corn, 16 thallia(?) ..."; Thompson ap. Quibell, Saggara, The Mon. of Apa Jeremias, 1912, pp. 118—119, Ostr. 375 and following, where $x \phi op/$ occurs, followed by a number of camels, and a quantity of wine or other article. Again, in the present volume, 365-368 also specify the φορά, and so 370, where φογρα is written in full; and in the ostraca from Oxyrhynchus published by Gren-FELL and HUNT in Arch. Report, 1905-6, p. 14 f., the same phrase occurs; for in nos. 5, 6, 7 (Preisigke, S.-B., 1966-8) A ϕ op/ is to be read, not α (ξ τους?) φ op(), but $(\pi \rho \omega \tau \eta \varsigma) \varphi$ op($\tilde{\alpha} \varsigma$). A very close analogy to the present accounts is, further, to be found in PSI. IV 307, an account from Hermopolis headed λό(γος) τοῦ ἐνεγθ(ἐντος) οἴνου εἰς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τῶν χαμήλ[ων], where

the entries are arranged by φοραί. In 1. 4 we have the 1st φορά (1st Pharmouthi), in 6 the second (2nd Pharmouthi), in 8 and 9 the third and fourth (no date specified, unless Παχὼν θ in 1. 10 refers to these entries); and in 11. 13—15, under the heading ἀνάλ(ωματος) the items are again arranged by φοραί; the only date is 1st Pharmouthi, with the second φορά (1. 14). Yet another parallel is B. M. 1091: "On account (behalf) of Gregory's camelherd: for the second day, 16 ascalonia — for the 2nd φορλ, asc. 8, for the 3rd φορλ, asc. 8 — for the . . . man, for (of?) the 1st turn (? round), asc. 16."

It must, however, be noted that, even if the translation "convoy" correctly represents the sense, it is perhaps not the literal meaning. In Byzantine Greek $\varphi\circ\varphi\alpha$ regularly meant "time" (see Ducange, s. v.), so that here too it is possible that the literal translation should be "first (second, etc.) time"; and B. M. 1091, where "the 1st turn" may be a Coptic rendering of $\varphi\circ\varphi\alpha$, supports this. It may even be that in P. Lond. II 468, 5, p. 81, φ^O $\bar{\mathbf{B}}$, we have an instance of the phrase meaning "second time" (i. e., of payment of camel-tax), though perhaps Wilcken's rendering, "zwei Raten", is the more likely.

This may perhaps suggest that the explanation adopted above is mistaken: that the reference is not to convoys but to "times" of making payment or delivery, instalments or "Raten". If, however, the convoy theory offers difficulties, the other is also not free from them; and the occurrence of the phrase x τορά in different localities and in different connexions certainly suggests that the reference is to a general system of convoys or relays. This too is perhaps favoured by Turaieff's document, "Φογρα of corn, 24 artabae"; which one might translate: "carriage of corn, 24 artabae"; and finally it is significant that in all cases where τορά occurs it is in connexion with the conveyance of articles on camel-back. Very likely, indeed, the meaning "time" arose from the earlier sense of "carriage" by a camel-convoy.

As already remarked, the explanation "convoy" is not free from difficulties; but the varying quantity of wine delivered by the various camel-drivers is not, as it might at first sight appear, an objection to it. For in both 121 and 123, where alone the

beginnings of the lines are preserved, all the entries are credited to the same person (A/OMOI/ in 121 must mean this, and in 123 no person is named, which seems to imply that the same winegrower is concerned throughout; so too in 125 ll. 1 and 2 may well be a heading, l. 1 giving the personal name or names, l. 2 that of the estate, while the remaining lines specify the single deliveries); the inference being that these accounts were arranged under personal rubrics. Hence the single items do not necessarily specify the total amount of wine carried by the camel-driver concerned but only the amount brought by him from the estate to which the rubric refers; one camel-driver might bring wine from several consignors.

A more serious objection is perhaps the fact that in 121 Phoebammon seems to occur for both the second (l. 3) and the first (l. 7) $\varphi c \varphi \alpha$; but this is not decisive. In l. 7 λ , though almost, is not quite certain; there may conceivably have been two camel-drivers named Phoebammon; and as we do not know the distance from which in this case the wine was brought, we cannot say for certain that it was impossible for the same camel-driver to take part in two convoys on the same day.

It will be seen that, imperfect as they are, these accounts have yet a certain value as illustrating the daily routine of supply in a monastic settlement. They are also of interest by reason of the measures which occur in them (for this subject see the section *Metrology* in the General Introduction).

```
Col. I.]
                                              [\dot{A}/\ O]MOI/ IA A \dot{\Phi}OP/ A/ K[..] KAMIAI[TOY]
                                             01/ φορ/ 15 ×
 [A/ O]M[O]I/ IA B OP/ A/ YWAN/ MAPOOY
 [A/] OMOI/ T/ B A/ DOIB/ KAMIAITOY
                                             [OI/] $OP/ A X
                                             oi/ φop/ .] ×
  A/ OMOI/ B OOP/ [A ? MA]KAP KAMIAIT[OY
                                             oi/ \phi[OP/..]
5 A/ OMOI/ IA Γ [ΦΟΡ/ A/ ..] Φ. HCT ..
                                             o[1/\phi op/\dots].
  A/ OMOI/ IA F OOP/ A/ FEWPFI/ KAMIA/
  A/OMOI/IA A OOP/A/OOI[B/] KAMI[A/]
  A/ OMOI/ TOY . "A' F GOP/ A/ K[. ..]
  A/ OMOI/ OWO IA A OOP/ A/ [. ...] O
10 A/ OMOI/ OWO IX B OOP/ A[/
```

(11. 1—4.) "By the same, 11th, 1st convoy, by C.., cameldriver, 28 phorai of wine. By the same, 11th, 2nd convoy, by John of Paroou, 16 phorai of wine. By the same, same day, 2nd (convoy), by Phoebammon, camel-driver, 30 phorai of wine. By the same, 2nd convoy, by Macarius (?), camel-driver, .. phorai of wine."

- 1. The four dots following KH are in the original. Whether the traces before the break are really writing is uncertain, and they may in any case not be part of this column.
- 2. IMAN(110Y) napooy: the name occurs also in 122, 18, and 385, and is perhaps the same as $nep\overline{\lambda}$ in 351 and $nep\overline{0}$ in 354; see too 355, 3 note. The cross at the end of this and the following lines is a mark of revision.
 - 3. A/: not certain.
 - 4. MA]KAP: very doubtful.

122. Account of Wine.

Five fragments. This account being identical in arrangement with the preceding, though the beginnings of the lines are lost, it is unnecessary to add a translation. The measures which occur are the ὄργον, φορά and κνίδιον, for which see the General Introduction.

```
? φορ/ ] ½ ε ε κιμα/ ψιζ ε [
] α/ Γεωρ/ καμια/ α φορ/ οι/ [
] α/ φοι/ καμια/ οργ/ τα ε φ/ θ ε κιμα/. χ
] φορ/ α/ ζ[α] χαρ/ καμια/ οργ/ β ε φ/ τ χ
] α φορ/ α/ Γεωρ/ καμια/ φορ/ ια χ
```

```
] · φορ/ Δ/ ἴωλ καμία/ ορΓ[/] Η $ κιιία/ Β χ
]φορ/ [Δ/] Π[..]οο ορΓ/ z $ φ/ Β χ
] φ/ Δ $ κιιία/
] ορΓ/ 5 $ φ/ Β χ
Δ/] ΓΕΦΡ/ ΚΑΜΙΑ/ ΟΡΓ/ ξ $ φ/ Δ χ
Δ]/ ΓΕΦΡ/ ΚΑΜΙΑ/ ΟΙ/ ΦΟΡ/ Μ5 $ ΚΙΙΙΔ/ Β χ
] · / ΚΑΜΙΑ/ ΟΙ/ ΦΟΡ/ ΜΑ $ ΚΙΙΙΔ/ Α χ
] · Δ/ ΓΕΦΡΙΙ ΚΑΜΙΑ/ ΟΙ/ φ/ Μ5 $ ΚΙΙΙΔ/ Α χ
] · Δ/ ΓΕΦΡΙΙ ΚΑΜΙΑ/ ΟΙ/ φ/ Μ5 $ ΚΙΙΙΔ/ Α χ
] · Δ/ ΓΕΦΡΙΙ ΚΑΜΙΑ/ ΟΙ/ φ/ Μ5 $ ΚΙΙΙΔ/ Α χ
] Δ/ ΖΑΧΑΡ/ $ ΕΠΦΧ ΚΑΜΙΑ/ ΟΙ/ φ/ Μ8 $ ΚΙΙΙΔ/ Α χ
] Α φ/ Δ/ ΓΕΦΡ/ ΚΑΜΙΑ/ ΟΙ/ φ/ Μ5 $ ΚΙΙΙΔ/ Β χ
Δ]/ ἵΦΑ ΠΑΡΟΟΥ ΟΙ[/] φ[/] Κ χ
```

- This is the top line of the column.
 s: the regular abbreviation for καί.
- 2. A ϕ OP/: this position is unusual; perhaps the clerk forgot to insert the number of the convoy at the right place.
 - 3. KHIA/: very doubtful, but avidia usually follow popal.
 - 6. At the beginning A is perhaps rather more likely than B.
- 7. n[..]oo: hardly n[Ap]oo (1. 18), as that seems to be a place-name.

10. ΓΕΦΡ/: very doubtful.
12. ΠΑΜΟ]ΥΝ: cf. l. 15.

13.../: or \times (z] \times ?).

123. Account of Wine.

Four fragments.

10

15

O[MOI/
OM[OI/
OMOI/[
OMOI/[
OMOI/] Φ/ N S KIIIA/ B X
OMOI/ B Φ[OP]/[
OMOI/ B ΦOP/ A/[
OMOI/ Γ ΦΟΡ/ A/ Ϊω[λ

OMOI/ Γ ΦΟΡ/ A/ Ϊω[λ

OMOI/ Γ ΦΟΡ/ A/ Ϊω[λ

15

8. Mr: r, which is doubtful, is a correction.

10. $\kappa = 10^{-6}$ As x: if this is right, the meaning is "1"/2 μεγάλα", the cross being the usual sign of revision; but it is equally possible to read $\mu = 10^{-6}$ $\mu = 10^{-6}$ (another measure following s. In any case it is a difficulty that $\mu = 10^{-6}$, which in 167 = 90 $\mu = 10^{-6}$, is here and in l. 12 distinct from it; see the General Introduction.

- 11. KA[...]: perhaps $KA[ACM^A]$, as in l. 12.
- 12. κλλαμ^λ: probably a fractional payment of some kind, though with so fragmentary a context it is impossible to explain κλάσμα with confidence. The word occurs also in P. Lond. IV 1431, 26, etc. (see introduction there); 1435, 158 (see note); 1443, 65; B. M. 605, p. 288; Ryl. Copt. 226; but in none of these cases is the meaning quite clear. Cf. P. Cairo Masp. III 67340 verso, 49, εὶς τοὺς κλασμοὺς τῆς οἰκονομίας.

CI[IIA]: see II. 14 and 17. There cannot be much doubt about the reading, and cf. 164, 9. The word occurs in a Theban ostracon copied by Mr. R. Engelbach, and is explained by M. C. Kuentz (quoted by Engelbach, Ann. du Serv., XXI 124) as the Lat. simpulum. It will be noticed that in 1. 14 cina/precedes, whereas here it follows, the number of zvi?: 22; but CI[IIA] nevertheless seems the obvious reading.

124. Account of Wine.

- 1.]207: these words at the beginning are place-names, probably those of the estates from which the wine came.
 - 2. HAPIC: OF HAPIL.
 - 3. ? AM] Π€A/: see 125, 2.
- 4.]אוו: qu. האראף]אוו? Esbeht = Apollinopolis, which was a pagarchy.
- 5.] ε εξοιπιτή! the character at the beginning looks more like ε (= ὑπέρ) than either 1/ (or p/) or x; but ὑπέρ is difficult to reconcile with what follows, for εξοιπιτη! is naturally interpreted as εξ ἐπιγραφής. For ἐπιγραφή see Preisigke, Fachwörter, s. v.; P. Oxy. XII 1445, 8 note; Edgar, Ann. du Service, XIX, p. 85. "Assessment", the commonest meaning in the Roman period, is likely enough here, especially as Papnuthius is an οἰχονόμος; but the phrase may conceivably mean "by commission from"; see ἐπιγράφω, 3, in Preisigke, Fachwörter. It is possible to divide ε εξ οιπιτή, taking εξ as εξ and οιπι as the measure so called; but this does not seem to give much sense.

ΟΙΚΟΝΟ: no doubt a monastic οἰκονόμος; see P. van Cauwenbergh, Moines d'Ég., p. 115 ¹; Breccia, Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex., IV, S. IV, p. 75 f. (1918), and Crum, C. O., p. XIX. The οἰκονόμος Papnoute often appears in these texts as writer or recipient; so too Stephen (l. 7).

6. GIC: perhaps εἰς, "to the account of". ὁμεί(ως) ("ditto") may refer to οικονιο in the previous line.

Coptica. III. 8

125. Account of Wine.

```
]/ ΟΙΚΟΙΙΟΜΟΣ ΠΆΠΝΟ[ΥΘ/
] ΟΡΓ/ ΑΜΠΕΛΟ[Υ] ΝΟΤ[ΙΗ
] ΟΙ/ ΚΝΙΑ/ ΪΑ
] ΟΙ/ ΚΝΙΑ/ Κ
] ΟΙ/ ΦΟΡ/ Α S ΚΝΙΑ/ . .
] ΟΙ/ ΦΟΡ/ Η [
ΟΙ/] ΚΝΙΑ/ [
```

- 1. It is uncertain whether this was the top line of the column.
- 2. OPΓ/: ὄργον or ὄργανον in the common sense of "field"; see Bell on P. Lond. V, 1741, 5.

126. Account of Wine.

This account is somewhat obscure in character. If the explanation on which the translation is based is correct, it specifies issues or sales of wine, according to the jars (xádo:) from which the wine was taken. But a difficulty on this view is constituted by 11. 5, 6 (see notes), and it is to be remarked that 7 in 1. 4 might be merely the sum of 3 (1. 2), 2 (1. 3) and 2 (1. 4); hence it is possible that Ano KAA/ is to be explained in some other way. In any case it is worthy of note that big and little cnidia occur; see the General Introduction.

```
+ γιως(/ οι/

Μ<sup>Γ</sup> κιι<sup>Δ</sup>/ απ<sup>Ο</sup> καα/ α γ

Μ<sup>Γ</sup> κιι<sup>Δ</sup>/ απ<sup>Ο</sup> καα/ γγ β

απ<sup>Ο</sup> καα/ β ε

Μ<sup>Κ</sup> κιι<sup>Δ</sup>/ απ<sup>Ο</sup> καα/ α

Μ<sup>Κ</sup> s μ<sup>Γ</sup> κεφ<sup>Δ</sup>/ οα
```

"Account of wine. Large cnidia from jar 4, 3. Large cnidia from jar 3, 2; from jar 2, 7. Small cnidia from jar 1. Small and large, of the original stock (?), 74."

- 3. B: a correction
- 5. If the explanation given above is correct, a figure ought to follow λ , but there is no trace of one. Perhaps it was accidentally omitted (note that the clerk at first omitted Γ in 1. 3); or it may just possibly have been lost; λ in 1. 6 seems to have lost part of its downstroke.
- 6. The translation supposes that $\kappa \in \phi^{\lambda}/$ is $\kappa \in \varphi^{\lambda}/\alpha i \circ \upsilon$, i. e. the original stock of wine from which the amounts noted above were taken. Thus this line gives the remainder still in hand. But it is curious that $\mu : \pi \neq \alpha$ and $\mu \in \gamma \neq \alpha \wedge \alpha$ are lumped together.

127. Account of Wine.

The left side of this ostracon is very dark, and OI/ is guessed at rather than read; but it is probable that wine is in question. MEKP/ = μ IXPá.

OI/ MEKP/ OA
OI/] MEKP/ : PIO
OI/ MEKP/ PÏZ
OI/ MEK]P/ TKB
OI/ MEKP/ : TZ

128. Tax(?)-List.

Papyrus.

On other side (recto), end of a πρᾶσις.

From a list of dates, names and perhaps taxes (cf. ανδρισμός? in 3). In 2 "brethren of the small temples" implies perhaps a monastic settlement among ancient ruins (1). In 3

⁽¹⁾ Ibn Dukmåk V, 17 mentions 2 villages in middle Egypt named *El-Birba* el Kabir and el-Sughair respectively, "the great" and "the small temples". Monks as well as peasants doubtless utilised the ruins: witness the Christian remains in the temples of Denderah and Medinet Habú.

George (1), a σχολαστικός (?) of Esbêhet (Apollinopolis), is mentioned; in 4 David, a σύμμαχος.

129. Account of Corn (?).

оүпфмнт =

| — макрове | — макрове | — макрове | — макрове

"Tsône, the daughter of Phane, 1 oipe (and) a half-tenth (2). Rebecca, the wife of David, 2 oipe. Tbekke 1 oipe and a [....]ama, the daughter of Apa Victor, 1 maaje and a half. Mariham, the wife of the son of George, the son of Lachêlos (3), |s| [....], the oil dealer, a half-tenth. Tanaste, the daughter [of....the] builder. Tirene, the(4), 1 maaje. [....]... Philocalios (5), [may?] God [(6) forgive him] — Macrobius"

130. List of Names.

а]поллю тсу · кв]ар тсу · к5 а]па макаре тсн · а]те ппатремою . в

^{(1) 2}AAK may be a title (trade name), v. Jome 76, 32, BM. 168. The first A is hardly doubtful.

⁽²⁾ See Introd., Metrology, under OITE.

⁽³⁾ Pshenlachélos might of course be a place-name, without intervening genetive, as in 157.

⁽⁴⁾ Can this be the fem. of 6100Y11? V. Ryl. 226n. In Saqqara 133 perhaps n610011.

⁽⁵⁾ This name apparently in BM. 1082.

⁽⁶⁾ Recalls the phrase common in later Fayyûmic texts: BM. 582 (1), KRALL CCXXVII etc., though its use in a list is unexpected.

5 a]na enux tarpoyx.ia a]na dib rnic.r an]a anoyn waroypin.kh]rnic.ka

A list of proper-names, each followed by a place-name and a number. The persons are: Apollo, [Wano]br (?), Apa Macarius, [....]te, Apa Enoch, Apa Phib, Apa Anoup, [....]. The places: Tsê(1), Pepatremôn(2), Tahrouj(3), Hnis (bis)(4), Shahourên(?)(5).

131. Account of Corn Shipments.

+ ενιπογωφ ππιο[γτε ειτανταλοογ εερ[αι] πφορη είς] πφορη είς] πφορη είς] πφορη είς] πκεεεοογ είλα είτειφ[]] σι αρ ρν[

"By the will of God, [....] which we have loaded (or shipped) [....] Pshenberre (6), corn, artabae 238 [....] The 1st day, by Pho[ebammon, ...]. The 2nd day, by Ph[...makes] corn, artabae 150[+?

132. Account of Supplies.

₽ плак≱ос со мааже

]ванк : пкесо мааж[е

]фев со мааже

]а мпшрв со

5 ві]ктшр

]?

⁽¹⁾ Presumably Etsa, between Samalût and Minyah, which would be the TCH where dwelt the hermit Pamin (for it is to him that AMÉLINEAU, Géogr. 586 inf., relates). Cf. also P. Lond. IV 1460, 44, CLÉDAT, Baouit 1 115.

⁽²⁾ Rather Eppatremôn. Cf. KRALL CCLV etc. Now El-Badramân, SW. of Dalga.

⁽³⁾ Cf.? Dahrout, v. 218.

⁽⁴⁾ Ahnâs. Ehnis in Ryl. 347.

⁽⁵⁾ First letter, if not a, may be two smaller ones."

⁽⁶⁾ V. 360 n.

"The masons, 6 maaje.[....].., other 6 maaje.[... ..].., 6 maaje [. The place name Pôrb(1) and the name Victor are visible."

133. Account of Wine.

+ плогос NN

HPП NTANTA

ЛООУ 211ТОУ2Ф

МИТЕ ПБІЖ

МИСООУ NCH

МПНА ЕТЕ

NAÏNE САФ

ВЕ ПФЕ ФРЕ

ФАТЕОУСІ

"The list of the wine which we transported (2) from Touhô (3): 10 'hands' (4) and 6 (5), making 770, save 1."

134. Account of Dates.

₩00Λε ₩φοι₩1900 ₩10₩1000 ₩10W1000 ₩10W1000 W10W1000 W10W

"The account of the dried dates (6) from the southern meadow: 307."

⁽¹⁾ Cf. 379.

⁽²⁾ Probably by water, seeing that the verb TAAO is used.

⁽³⁾ On the confusion of places and their spellings involved in this name v. Ryl. 369 n. This is the most frequent place in our texts. If it is Taha al-Madinah (now disappeared), we must seek it close to Minyah; for we gather from Synax., 11th Kihak (Ptolemy), that it lay a little SE. of the still extant Tükh (TODE) al-Khail (AMÉLINEAU, Géogr. 524). It may be noted that Thallou, the place next in frequency here, is perhaps identical with Tallah, 2 m. W. of Minyah. (Cf. 211 n.)

 ⁽⁴⁾ σιχ as a liquid measure seems improbable. It is used of grain, e. g. in Ezek, XIII, 19 (δράξ); cloth Miss. IV, 723, BM. 1066. Cf. also 101.

⁽⁵⁾ Presumably a Greek word beginning CYM- and indicating a measure less than the "hand"; or possibly CIDAOYti (v. 123 n.) miswritten.

⁽⁶⁾ This construct form of BILLE seems new. Cf. EAGAGOOYE. The preposition following is probably "of"; hence ("the product) of".

135. List of Wine Jars.

₽ πλογος πεώοώογ ΝΗΡΠ ΠΤΙλΟΧ πώορπ ΠΧΟΪ ΤΑΙΟΥ ΜΝΟΥΕΙ ΝΙΝΟ6 ΝΙΚΕΥΕ ΤΚ

"The list of the wine jars of (? for) Tiloj (1) The first ship, 51 (jars); large vessels 320(2)."

136. List of Vessels.

порки[пголлее[фомте м[плагоп ... ф[оукоуї полле[е оуотс пс[оуга . [

A list of vessels, presumably containing wine. The number preceding each is (except in 3) lost. The sorts named are: ὅργανον (οτ ὅργον), πόλλαθον, λάππον, small πόλλαθον, ots (for hots).

137. List of Vessels.

апа мнпа пое мскеоуе : та - омеос сумхе[....]ка ме[фоїв[су.[мм[

"Apa Mena (3): large vessels, 14. Likewise 300["

⁽¹⁾ V. AMÉLINEAU, Géogr. 137. The identification with Nilopolis is confirmed by ZOEGA 326, where Tiloj = Νειλόπολις ROC. 1913, 139.

⁽²⁾ If TK were not a numeral, the words might be divided otherwise.

⁽³⁾ Probably the recipient of Enoch's 6 orders for delivery of wine.

138. Account of Corn.

пооіс

+ іс бамоуа знракуамши фомет перточ псо
исоуо г фівамши пооіє п
з-уракуамши оубопе п
соуо їшзаинс пезсааз

"Jesus (1). The camel (of) Heraclamon (2), the husbandman, 3 artabae of corn, 3. Phibamon, the husbandman, to (?) Heraclamon, a sack of corn. John, the(3)."

139. Account of Fodder.

+ ішані пмабамоўл
гансім фмоўні + неооўн
в міттасе перточ
пісім ганінріі пілаал
тігоїре вграфіі впеіф
ка іна/ ө

"John, the camelherd, for fodder (for?) Shmoun: 5 sacks (4), 16 artabae of fodder (in exchange) for the wine of Plalenhoire (5). Written 21st of Epeiph, 9th Indiction." After 1. 6 are 2 lines, wherein only Grp/ is legible.

140. Account of Supplies.

птаєіталу її сікшв пщівшр ₽ плогос іїнескеўоўс хоўште ммаже її

⁽¹⁾ CO. 466 is a list similarly headed by this name.

⁽²⁾ Here written both times clearly Hêrakyamôn (?-wamôn). The H (in l. 4) if indeed it be that letter, has a very strange form.

^{, (3)} A mistake for nca2 appears unlikely. Possibly one of the many place-names formed with Pah-, Peh-, modern Bah-. An illegible line follows this.

⁽⁴⁾ Of corn?

⁽⁵⁾ This place recurs in go.

```
COYO: ΜΝΟΟΟΥ ΠΙΈΘΟΤΕ

5 ΝΝΗΣ: ΜΠΙΦΟΜΤΕ

110 ΡΙΘΟΥΙΟ ΠΕ[

110 ΝΟΟΥ[Ο

110 ΝΟΟΥ
```

"The list of the chattels that I gave to Jacob, the son of Hôr(1): — 25 maaje of corn and 6 xestes | 5 of oil and 3 oipe of cucumbers (2), a bag of [....] John [....] Moses [...] | 10 of corn (?) [....] 3 [....] and 4 [...."

141. List of Articles.

+ кемаре спау писвію спау пстагма оусфротоп пирп оупоє пкапіске птфре + кемаре спау писвію спау пстагма

"2 pots of honey. 2 (pots) of stagma (3). A(4) of wine. A large basket of wicker work (?) (5). A maaje of selected dates. 4 doves and a basket of mixed contents (6)."

⁽¹⁾ In 164 Psenhôr is in itself a man's name.

⁽²⁾ So spelt in KRALL CCXLV.

⁽³⁾ Cf. BM. 1041.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. 186.

⁽⁵⁾ Merely suggested by the meaning "willow" given to Τωρε, which must however be the name also of another plant; cf. Méls. Or. Beiront VI, 514, where Christ's crown is of ωε τιθωρι. Here however one expects the contents of the basket, not its material. Cf. perhaps Τωρε in Hall, p. 57, though there it may be "handfuls" (of recds).

⁽⁶⁾ This meaning is confirmed by Wessely, Stud. XX, 218, 31, δισχάριον μεστον διαρόρων βρωμάτων, with which cf. Ryl. 158, 37, ib. 240, and such biblical uses as in Lev. XVI, 12, Num. IV, 16; also Ezek. XXIII, 41.

142. Account of Expenses.

] плогос итец)[
пр]осфора NT[
]манас фам[
](erasure) 2атаг[апн
5]пнрп NCO[
2апасо[и
2ам[

An account of expenses, including offerings on behalf of the dead (l. 2 προσφορά) and alms (l. 4 ἀγάπη). In l. 5 perhaps copoγτου, as an epithet of wine (1).

143. List of Articles.

Papyrus.

 оүное ммохдос м. [

 оүмдже мпенине

 оүене мпенине [

 фомит пкедев[и

 сооү мпенине

 фом(ит) пкаф[ет]ис

 a line lost here

 омоі/ оүное мпенип[е

 оүкафетне птарт[

"A large bar of (2) [....], a maje-measure (3) of iron, a chain of iron [....], 3 axes [....], |5| 6 irons (4), 3 plumblines (5) [....] Likewise, a large iron [....], a plumb-line of lead [....]."

⁽¹⁾ Cf. 186.

⁽²⁾ Though a qualifying word followed here, several at least of the following lines appear complete.

⁽³⁾ The measuring vessel of this capacity is not, I think, met with elsewhere.

⁽⁴⁾ Here and in 7 "irons" may mean chains, as Ryl. 321, Pap. Codex p. 46, BIF. XV, 242 etc.; or iron tools, as Eccli. XLVIII, 21, Deut. XIX, 5. II. II2OMIT Rossi, N. Cod. 83, "bronze irons (chains)", is notable.

⁽⁵⁾ Probably καθέτης, which Stephanus quotes from a glossary in the sense of κάθετος.

144. List of Articles.

Papyrus, 2 fragments.

- α)] ογροέτε σορτε το το το το το το το συρεί ε ογο] γλετε ογογοθ σοοκ ε ογεί
- b) ΟΥ]CωΜΑΡΟ ΤΜΑϢ[]. Ϣ - ϢΝΘ Β΄ ΤϢ[

145. List of Articles.

] фон је псалеп је пвин евол оумл јт. что лонхе: фом п]риф оуппсїс феміл [тире оугв] ве ечгорег оугої ечгорег је сипте оуфпе тагт

List in which the Arabic (Christian) name "Salîb" perhaps occurs (5); also "4 lances (6), 3 [....], [....] cloaks, a washbasin, [...] censers (7), a plough provided (? with its appurtenances (8)), a water-wheel provided (? likewise), 2 [....], a net, lead [

⁽¹⁾ Assuming a connexion with OYWT2.

⁽²⁾ Κύαθος in Num. IV, 17.

⁽³⁾ Cf. Ryl. 238 COMAPICTO(C), where ζωμάρυστρος is suggested, and P. Lond. V, 1657. 10, σωμάριστρα.

⁽⁴⁾ The gender of MAUJEPT "cable" is unknown, otherwise it might be read here.

⁽⁵⁾ This assumes π to end the word, whereas it may be the article of that following.

⁽⁶⁾ Hunting weapons perhaps; scarcely military. The Copts (according to A. J. BUTLER. Churches 11, 44) use no such instrument at the Sacrament.

⁽⁷⁾ Θυμιατήριον, as in P. Lond. IV, 1631, Ryl. 238.

⁽⁸⁾ Or perhaps "ready" for use.

t 24 TEXTS.

146. List of Articles.

]. Β[]: π: вір]ογχησα πογ

PW ANNY BANOT : \overline{B}

5 ΕΥΜΕΣ : COOK : B : ΜΝΠΕΤΣΙΦΟΥ ΟΥΜΟΥΡCIKE ΠΟΥ

"...] a basket of white beans (1), 2 bags full, 2 sacks with what is on them, a (2) for the communion."

147. Account of Vegetables (?).

Account of a vegetable garden for a large part of a month (11th-28th, omitting two days). For the reckoning of vegetables by δέματα see, e. g., P. Lond. IV, 1375, 20; but as the first of the two headings specifies "palm-branches", the bundles may be of them, not vegetables.

+ λΟΓ/ ΒΑΘΙΗ ΘΓΡΑΦ ΠΑΧΩΙΙ Η ΙΑ

IN H AEMA 5 дог/ дахана вфра IB H A€MA H IT H A.CMA Z 5 IA H ACMA 5 IE H AGMA 5 IS H AGMA C IZ H ACMA Z III H ACM = 10 K H A.CM/ C KATLAGMA G + AOP/ A/ DKWMAP II THOS ADJE кн н дем^д їв KB H A.€MA € OMOI/ TOOY AGMA Z KE H AEMA = KALL AGMA G K5 ACMA C 15 Kz ACMO 5 + гі/ Aem/A по

⁽¹⁾ Cf. Ryl. 347.

⁽²⁾ In the list P. Lond, IV, 1610 MOPCIKE stands next "a woman's garment". As a nonn βυρσικός -ή is not recorded. For συνάγειν thus cf. Budge, Misc. 375, 399.

"Account of palm branches (?), written Pachon 8th, 11th (indiction). Account of vegetable garden of Bora (?). 11th day, 6 bundles, 12th day, 8 bundles", etc. "Total, 89 bundles."

- I. BAGIII: more probably, as translated, palm-branches (BAI) than a name.
- 1A: though 1^{A} / is not added, there can be little doubt the indiction is meant.
 - 2. Η: = ήμέρας.

κωρλ: if the reading is correct (and though doubtful it is fairly probable), this may very likely = Βορρα, i. e. "the Northern vegetable garden".

11. The figures here and in 11. 12, 14—16, and probably the Θ of the total are corrections. Before $+\lambda O\Gamma/\kappa . \tau . \lambda$. something, perhaps κ_{5} , has been deleted.

πκωμάρ: probably πκωμάριτιο, "the gardener". What follows is obscure; π τησο seems certain, but the letters λήμο are doubtful in the extreme, though ω seems to be right.

13. το $^{\circ}$ Y: doubtful; perhaps an attempt at της αὐτης (ήμέρας), but more probably (especially as omoi/ sufficiently expresses the date) the place-name, Touhô.

148. List of "Bundles".

T]IOY MOYP Ñ B W]NA MUMHT MO[YP sic]MH2 MOYP Ñ A[MA]AB MOYP Ñ[MA]AB Å

List of "bundles" (1), 50, 10, 40 (?), 30 respectively, with a sum of money, in νομίσματα, opposite each.

⁽¹⁾ MOYP is found in KRALL CCXLVII, and in a Balaiza fragment (bundles of palm-branches).

149. List of Provisions.

]Y, Y[

X]O\XOM[L

X]O\XOM[L

]HO\LM HYC:

]ML HREG ALOOA, NXOA

"...]measure[s?] of seed-corn. 4 [....,] of old beans (1). 4 (?) artabae. 23 [....] of Ientils ["

150. Account of Uncertain Character.

Three fragments (the first two continuous) from the extreme left of an account, only the beginnings of lines being preserved. In l. 1 is a heading, perhaps + λ[οΓ/. The lines all begin Δ/ ΝΙΡ/ (= διὰ χειρός); only in l. 12 is anything more preserved (Δ΄ ΝΙΡ/ ΠΑΤ[ΕΡΜΟΥΘ]). Probably the names preceded by Δ/ ΝΙΡ/ are those of agents through whom payments or deliveries were made.

151. Account of Uncertain Character.

This fragment contains little but a list of totals. L. 1 is apparently the end of a section of the account, but is obscure. In 1. 2 is the heading $\lambda \phi(\gamma \circ \zeta) \times \alpha \tau \lambda \cos \lambda(\delta \alpha \zeta)$, i. e. "account by pages" (or perhaps, if the reference is to something contained on this potsherd, not to the pages of a book, "by columns"). In II. 3 and 4 come the totals for pages 1 and 2, in 1. 5 the grand total. A similar arrangement by $\cos \lambda(\delta z \zeta)$ appears in B. M. 1075, p. 447, where $\cos \lambda(\delta \alpha \zeta)$ seems a likelier extension than $\cos \lambda(\delta z \zeta)$. In the accounts in P. Lond. IV we find the curious form $\cos \lambda(\delta z \zeta)$; cf. Bell's note on 1420, 146.

⁽¹⁾ Last season's beans. Cf. the use of AC for wine.

1. κ/λ [: κ : κ : but λ is doubtful; κ is equally likely. The reading does not appear to be κ/c [$\epsilon\lambda$ /.

5. Ø: = όμοῦ.

152. List of Uncertain Character.

Perhaps a list, beginning "This is the [list..., and naming 'the master Mena' and, possibly, in 3 'the [camel]herd'."

153. Account of Uncertain Character.

Account naming "the big garden", "the garden of Tahrouj" (1) and "the cell of papa Psha".

⁽¹⁾ For the first of these v. HENGSTENBERG'S papyri, no. 4, I; for the second 218.

154. Account of Uncertain Character.

+ coyψic heneiφ 2aφοί βam/ πκαςθούτ μ[...] γιας πμαμέαμ[ούα ει εμπτορ[5 πεεςφο[κούι ς[6.[

"The 9th of Epeiph: for Phoebammon, (of) the district of Siût(1), and (?) [Asa]rias, the camelherd,"

155. Account of Uncertain Character.

In its present state this fragment is obscure. Perhaps indeed it is nearly complete, as $\overline{\text{MMF}}$ suggests the beginning of the account, 1.8 gives a total, and of ll. 4—7 the beginnings may be preserved; but on the other hand it is possible (though less likely) that the fragment contains only the ends of lines. The occurrence of $\lambda(\tau(\rho\alpha))$ rules out wine or other liquid substance. The figures at the beginning of the lines may be either days of the month or pages of the daybook.

- 2.] μετλω = : presumably a place-name.
- 5. A/: hardly Etá here; perhaps the substance measured, but no likely word suggests itself.

⁽¹⁾ Also in 157. It may be questioned whether the prefixed TKA2 connects this, as a place-name, with those beginning with TKA2 (v. 37 n.).

156. Text of Uncertain Character.

Though quite obscure, this list seems worth including, owing to the possibility that it may mention big and little ὄργα (the measure)? But opr may also be ὅργον or ὅργανον in the sense of "field"; cf. 125, 2 note. The ostracon, though a blank space follows each line, may be incomplete on the right (or on the left).

O MIK/
OPF MEF/
OPF MIK/
MEF/ CK/

1. o: doubtful, perhaps only s (= $\kappa\alpha$!) or possibly for $\delta\rho\gamma$ (). It is uncertain whether this was the first line.

4. CK/: C is probable. Most likely σχεῦος.

157. List of Persons.

[.]ІЗПІС ПМАНГАСЕ

МАКАРЕ ПЕРТОВ — ІАКШВ ІІ

ІШЗАННІС ЖІТС — ВЇКТШР АВА

ӨШМАС ПШЕМПООУШ — АПОУП ...

5 ЇСАК ПЕКЗЕЛЕ — ПТАУРОС КОЎЇ

ЇШЗАНН ПМАПІЗШКЕ — ВІКТШР ЗШРІКЕН/

[ф]ІВАМШН ПКЗСІООЎТ — ЗШР СЇФЕРЕ

[.]ЗПІС ПАНЇЖІТС — ПАПНОЎТЕ ТАННІЕ

A list of proper names, some of them at least followed apparently by place-names, but without an intervening genitive particle. (1) "...] John (?) (of) Pma ngase. (2) Macarius (of) Pertob. (3) Jacob (son) of John (of) Jits. (4) Victor (of) Ab.

⁽¹⁾ As also in 130.

⁽²⁾ Cf. Makûsah, just above Minyah. Is this the Pma nkas of P. Flor. I 70, 7.

⁽³⁾ Cf. Burtubât (? Pertob hêt), opposite Sharûna. Cf. περτ/ mentioned

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. Nijits (possibly Panijits) below.

Thomas (of) Pshempowsh (1). Anoup (of) |s| Isaac (of) Peksele (2). Ptauros the little. John (of) Pmanhôke. Victor (son of) Origenes (3). Phoebammôn (of) Pkeh-Siût (4). Hôr (of?) Siphere (5). John (?) (of) Panijits. Papnoute (of) Tanêne" (6).

158. List of Husbandmen.

```
+ μνο<sub>ι</sub> υπολοεί[
ασσυμη[c
μνλν[ος
2 φο<sub>β</sub>[
```

"The list of the husbandmen [....]. Theodore, the [....], John [....], Paul [....], Phoeb[ammôn."

159. List of Persons.

This list of names is so imperfect as to be hardly worth publishing, but it is given because of its (apparently) miscellaneous character, including as it does a nun, perhaps a monk, a νομικός, and someone described as κύριος.

| φ s κγγ/ κ[
|]. τ monax[
|]c nomκ/ λ[πο?
|]i s onnωφ/ λ[πο?

5]. monaxh [
|] e[π]imax λ[πο?

⁽¹⁾ Perhaps contains the name Bûsh. Cf. Qombûsh, SW. of Beni Suef, and Bûsh N. of it. More suitable perhaps is Munyah (or Meit) Bûsh, near Ashmunain (Amélineau, Géogr. 365). On the other hand it may = Pshenpous of Ryl. 181.

⁽²⁾ The use of z might indicate a Greek name deformed.

⁽³⁾ It may be noted that the large fresco (Cosmas and Damianus, Journ. Eg. Arch. III, 35) commemorates a Hourkene.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. 154. (5) Cf. ? Σερῦφις P. Oxy. 1141.

⁽⁶⁾ Tanna'nah, near Abutig, seems unlikely.

- 1. Perhaps deleted by a line drawn through it; but this is doubtful.
 - 6. G[n]IMAX: very doubtful.

160. List of Names.

Two fragments. The purpose of this list, as of the preceding, is uncertain. Most of the persons mentioned are apparently clerics; perhaps therefore the list is intended for commemoration or invocation.

+ апа
е́зшр п'а'нсе
апа макаре
апа ішзаннінс
апа кастшр
апа знракаєшні
апа іакшв
нен.[

- I f. And GEODP: GEODP is doubtful, and seems, in any case, an unlikely name, but $2\omega P$ is not possible. There has very possibly been an alteration, and perhaps only one letter (z) is to be read before ωP .
- 5. Castor is a rare name. Perhaps reminiscent of an obscure saint of this neighbourhood, martyred at Bardanūhah and named sometimes in the litany (v. the Cairo Absaliyat 1629 (1913), p. \$\phi\tiz\$; cf. also Abū Sālih f. 74 a, reading Kastur).
- 8. NEN. [: here again there may have been an alteration; a character seems to be written above the second n. Probably the word is a Coptic plural possessive, nen[.

5

Contracts.

161. Contract for Work.

+ дапіна 2[мпі]а мпіоуте парма[пар/] пчсгаї пап[а п]аулос пгамще [хеті] епітрепе пак етрекр гамще ет[...]

[2NTPO]МПЕ ТАІ ТФДЕКТ/ ІМД/
МПМОНАЯ/ ЙГЕР ПЕКЗФИ ХФРІС КАТА
фРОНЕІ ЗИЛЛАЛУ ИЗФИ ТПТІ ПЕКВЕ
КЕ МАК ЕТЕПАІПЕ ХОУТН ПЕРТОЧ П
С[ОУО] МІМПИТСНООУСЕ ПЛАЗН ЙНРП МІІ
.... ИС]ІМ МІЙТООУ ПЕРТОЧ П
ТФТ [МПС]ПАУ ЙКАДОУС ИНРП КА
МНОУЄООУНЕ МІЮУТ
ТА МА ИХФФЛЕ МІЮУДОВІТФІІ
МНОУСЛІТАЛЕ ЕПЕКФРХ ОУН ЛІС

edon \underline{h} θ_m act g_0 in +

Contract for work and wages between a monastery and a carpenter.

"Daniel (1) it is, by God's mercy archima[ndrite], (2) writes to Apa Paul, the carpenter, (saying,) [I] appoint thee to do carpenter's work for [....] of the monastery, in this year of the 12th Indiction (3); and that you do your work without |s| neglect in anything. And [I undertake] that we will pay your wages, namely 25 artabae of corn and 12 lahê of wine (4) and [.... of] fodder (?) and 4 artabae of barley [and] 2 jars of

⁽¹⁾ This Daniel recurs in 87 and 175.

⁽²⁾ Contracts (likewise called σύμφωνον) with carpenters: BM. 1064, 1065, KRALL CLIV.

⁽³⁾ This phrase inserted afterwards.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. 164.

wine |xo|, according to the vintage (1), and a cloak (2) and a sackcloth (garment) and a [....] and a (pair of) sandals. For your assurance, then, I have drawn up this agreement for you and I consent thereto. Thoth 26th, 12th Indiction."

162. Contract for Service.

хіпсо]үмітсафве пе
пепнп
[фасоүм]птсафве птке
]ефсшие ерооу
]же пчсштм псшї

хика]тафропнсіс
]птечромпе етепаїпе
]псавн мнте ммааже
]мптоуе изотс пнрп
]смптч пммач

10
]па/ х гефрге

From a contract with a servant or workman (3).

"... from the] 17th of E[pêp till the 1]7th of Epêp of the next [year] be able to add to (?) them (4) [....] he obey me [without] neglect [....] of his year, namely [....] henceforth, 10 maaje [of and] 11 hots of wine, [according as I] arranged it with him. [....] Indiction. George (5) [, I consent].

⁽¹⁾ Or? the vineyard. I do not find MA NX. elsewhere.

⁽²⁾ For the form AWBITWN cf. Turaief, Materiale, no. 4, AOYBITOY. With the latter ending (-w) it is fem. in Mingarelli 338, Giron, Légendes 64, Mus. Guim. XXV, 418 and Kircher 120; but masc. in CSCO. 41, 49. Also fem. with ending -wn, Budge, Misc. 491, Budge, Apocr. 125; and fem. as AOBHTE, Budge, Mart. 217, which = AEBITON masc. in Rec. VI 183; cf. AABITE LEPSIUS, Denkm. VI, 102, 21. Perhaps joined here with sackcloth (as Budge, Mart. 161) shows the carpenter to be a monk.

⁽³⁾ Similar documents: Ryl. 140-143.

⁽⁴⁾ CA2NG in Exod. XIX, 4, 15 means "approach". But is this the same word? A survival perhaps of the demotic use, "dispose of"?

⁽⁵⁾ A fresh hand here.

163. Contract for Work.

+ псумфшиои [
моч итіромп[є
изк гапекв[еке
жоутачте ир[точ
ыеішт мио[у
оурточ йвн[иие
мимитач[те и

From a contract for work.

"The agreement [....] this year [... give] you as your wage [....] 24 ar[tabae of corn and] |s| of barley and a [.... and] an artaba of dates and 14 [.

164. Contract for Work.

Р палкаюн мпмонастирной етоуа[ав папа]

вшмас гіті пмаїноуте неішт апа є[пе]

пр/ ечсгаї муунгшр псангмоу жела[ау не]

чот ечалч ечене нішомте пваїк[

маг ммине ена нечвеке нач [етепан]

пе ката є[чо]т щомпт нероч ні ма]

аже йсім оулакооте йинрп щі

птентимооу нач оумаліже

сіплоун піхір оулевітоу .[

мпедма ноушт йток гшшк он ніг

р пекгшв патлалуе йкатафронісіс

птеромпе тирс (erasure) анон гшшн пітін

ті пеквеке нак + єграфи менос пауні

ке гі/ й а/ +

Contract for work and wages, between a monastery and a salt-dealer (1).

⁽¹⁾ Salt may have been for use in preserving corpses. Burials of the Christian period show large quantities of it. Or for pickling fish etc., as in Krall CCXLIII, 14.

165. Contract for Cultivation (?).

]сгаї мпфнр
]мє женено
]нтато нішзе
]тофоу ежші мін]ачті течто є
[т]что пвпне

⁽¹⁾ V. Introduction.

⁽²⁾ One is tempted to read Enoch.

⁽³⁾ Reading προνοητής, V. 344 n. (4) Recurs Ryl. 232.

⁽⁵⁾ A sait-dealer so named at Baouit (II, p. 100). Cf. QUIBELL-THOMPSON, Saqqara, no. 89; also νιτροπώλης Ann. du Serv. 1909, 281.

⁽⁶⁾ If BAIKA2, cf. BM. 449, 450, where it might mean a certain portion of land. But in a Balaiza fragt. (Bodl. copt. e. 54) ΟΥΒΑΙΚΑ2 is in a list of articles. In BM. 450 it is fem., as here.

⁽⁷⁾ WTEMEA2 recurs in 92, carried in baskets. Clearly something in which salt is an element. Perhaps nitrate manure (sabakh); cf. MA2 in CSCO. 73, 186 (i. e. Jer. XVII 6).

⁽⁸⁾ A common wine measure in middle Egypt; cf. BM. 1064, Baouit I, 8 etc. It = χνίδιον, on which v. Bell in P. Lond. IV 1375. KRALL, CCXXXIV shows that λλ2H also = χνίδιον. From 161 it appears however that λλ2H is a smaller measure. (9) Cf. 123 n.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Presumably designating the quality of shoe to be provided. Cf. 161, where the parallel word is σανδάλιον.

⁽¹¹⁾ Though now in the 2d pers., we must suppose the same workman addressed as in the 3d pers. hitherto.

Contract, perhaps regarding land cultivation.

"... we] write to the son [of] (saying,) we are [ready (?) to] my portion of field [.... shall] appoint for me, with [....] |s| has given (or sold) his portion for (?) the 4 (1) palm-trees [

166. Promise of Repayment.

Papyrus.

Танок пасон германе фамше птпетра етоу A & R тпо AIC [EIC2AI] NITACON πΑΙΑΚ/ ΠΜΟΝΟΏΟΟ $M\Pi MON[\lambda C^{T}]$ $\Pi OY W T 2M\Pi TOW$ поушт жеепеідн аіпарака ACI MMOK AKAITEI NOYZOAOKT/ ΕΠ. ΕΙΧΡΙΑ ΜΝΤΑΑΝΆΓΚΗ жежинооу изооу етесоу 10 **МИТФИНППЕ ИТФВЕ ИТІ** POMILE TAL TEKATHO INA % ФУСОЛИНТОМНИ МИУЬ ΜΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΙΡΟΜΠΕ ΝΟΥΦΤ ΤΗΟ AYTHO INA"/ ETPATI NAK 2A 15 TEUMOTNEC NOYZOTC NZA λωμ μαι όλη σμιολωά) μ Гпиоут€

Undertaking to repay a money loan in cheese. Text effaced and very illegible.

"I, brother (2) Germanus, the carpenter of the Holy Rock $(\pi \acute{e}\tau \rho \alpha)$ the city ..., (3) [I write] to brother |s| the deacon, the monk of this same monastery, in this same

⁽¹⁾ Perhaps nothing lost before 4TO.

⁽²⁾ Lit, "my brother", as in l. 4.

⁽³⁾ One expects either "the Rock of Apa Thomas (for which there is space), of the city Siut" (not space for a longer name); or "in the nome of the city S.". Our 375 makes "the Rock of Sbeht" not impossible.

nome, (saying,) When I entreated you, you asked (1) a solidus need (2) and my necessity, |ro| namely (?) from today, which is the 18th day of Tôbe of this year of the 10th Indiction, until the 18th day of Parmoute of this same year of the |rs| same Indiction, (I said?) that I would give you for its satisfaction (3) a (4) of cheese. These (things), then, by the will of [God...

Orders for Payment.

(Cf. also several of the Letters, 86, 87, 89, 90, 91, which might be classed here.)

167.

Р ТААС
ПАПА МІПА
ЗІТПАПА ВІПОХ
АРІ ТАГАПН ПІГТІ МІТСИООУСЕ
ПКОУЇ ПААЗН ПНРП МІЙШМОУНЕ МФОРНС НАНОУП
ПМАНЕАМОУА АУШ ТІ КЕСИТЕ ПКОЎЇ ПААЗН ННРП НАПА

ДІЄНЕ ПОЎАЇШ + ГІ/ ОІ/ МІК/ ЇА

[ЛІЗУПОГР] АФН ПТАВІЖ + ЕУРХФ/

[+ ЄНШХ СТОІ] Х +

"Give it to Apa Mina (Mêna), from Apa Enoch. Be so kind and |5| give (5) 12 small lahê of wine and 8 phores to

⁽¹⁾ A reading difficult to justify or understand, but the usual AKTI (or 十) NAI, "you gave to me", cannot be read.

^{(2) &}quot;My need", the usual phrase, cannot be read.

⁽³⁾ Only in a Balaiza fragt. (an ἀσφαλία) does MOTNEC thus occur:]ΜΕΤ Ν2ΟΛΟΚΟΤΤΝ ΝΟΥΨ 2ΑΤΕΥΜΟΤΝΗΟ[. Elsewhere its Greek equivalent is ἀνάπαυσις. (4) 2ΟΤΟ measures cheese in 198.

⁽⁵⁾ The equations phores = μ εγάλα, small $lah\hat{e} = \mu$ ικρά, are confirmed by 168, 171. Comparing 170 with these shows $lah\hat{e}$ to = small $lah\hat{e}$. Similarly in Thompson's Saggara no. 226.

Anoup, the camelherd; and give other 2 small lahê of wine to Apa | 10 | Agene (1), the head husbandman (2).

Makes (total), wine, small 11 (sic), large 8.

Lest you should be contentious, [I have sub]scribed with my hand. Written (3) [.... Enoch, I consen]t."

168.

Р таас папа міне
гітпапа епшх арі
тагапн пітті хоушт
пікоут плагн пінріп
пеірнін тмонахн +
еграфн месорн к +
гі/ оі/ мік/ к + хепек
амфівале аїгупографн
птавіх +
+ епшх стоіх/
+ демо фоіваммшін
егр/ +

"Give it to Apa Mine (Mêna), from Apa Enoch. Be so kind and give 20 small lahê of wine to Irene, the nun. Written 20th Mesore.

Makes (total), wine, small 20.

Lest you should be contentious, I have subscribed with my hand. Enoch, I consent. Written by me, Phoebam-môn" (4).

⁽¹⁾ An alternative to the etymology suggested Ryl. 173 is ἀγένειος, perhaps originally the epithet of some saint, presumably the martyr of Tehne (cf. 179).

⁽²⁾ Properly "the big husbandman", if final w has its usual meaning.

⁽³⁾ In an unskilled hand.

⁽⁴⁾ Scribe of 169, 172.

ıбa. + TAAC ПАПА MING 2ITE еифх цеа EIOT API TA 5 CARH DETLAND τογε δικογί διλλεή понри папа петре [....]ПАРГАМОС ТАРЕЧ [ЧІТОҮ]ЕПМА ПАПА МАК т о $AP[C + \Gamma I/] OI/ MIK/ IA + XC$ пека[мфів]але аїгупографн птасіх + єграфи месори к + chan ctoi + δι/ εμο φοιβαμμων 15 εγρα

"Give it to Apa Mine (Mêna), from Enoch his |5| father. Be so kind and give 11 small $lah\hat{e}$ of wine to Apa Peter [son of?] Pargamos (1), that he may [|50| take them?] to the dwelling of Apa Macarius.

Makes (total), wine, small 11.

Lest you should [be] contentious, I have subscribed with my hand.

Written 20th Mesore. Enoch, I consent (2). Written by me, Phoebammôn" (3).

⁽¹⁾ Recurs BM. 1166. ? Περγάμιος.

⁽²⁾ An unskilled hand.

⁽³⁾ Scribe of 168, 172.

170.

+ таас папа міне
гітпеншх печеішт
арі тагапн нгті
мітасе паагн піпнрп напа пеша
пччітоу пммонахн паавоугот +
гі/ оі/ мік/ ї5 [+] єграфн
өшө а іна. Трітнс
+ єншх ст
[0]іх/

"Give it to Apa Mine (Mêna), from Enoch, his father. Be so kind and give 16 lahê |5| of wine to Apa Pgôl and let him take them to the nuns of Labouhot (1).

Makes (total), wine, small 16. Written 1st Thoth, 3rd Indiction. Enoch (2), I consent."

171.

+ ταλς ναπα μ[in]e + 21παπα
 ενώς πεθείωτ αρι ταγαπη
 νιτι φομτε νφορης ννηρη
 μιμητη νκογί ναλ2η ννηρη
 μιακον ιως αννης τε + εγραφη
 ενώς τρίτης +
 + ενώς τοιχ/
 + εμδ φοιβαμμωνος γρα/

⁽¹⁾ Perhaps cf. ПРМІЗЛАВШӨЗАТ, P. Alexandr., Sphinx X 2, where the reading differs from mine. Kremer, Ägypten II 108, gives El-Lewahet as a markaz of Siut; but I cannot find it. A village near Siût is now named Nag' Labu.

⁽²⁾ An unskilled hand.

"Give it to Apa Mine (Mêna), from Apa Enoch, his father. Be so kind and give 3 phores of wine and 15 small lahê of wine |5| to my brother John, the smith (1).

Makes (total), wine, large 3, small 15. Written 1st Thoth, 3rd Indiction. Enoch (2), I consent. Written by me, Phoebammôn'' (3).

172.

P TAAC NAMA MINE SITU
AMA ENUX API TACAMH
EPWAN CEWPCE MANGAM[OYA II]
MAOPHC NNHPM MN[MITCHOOY]
[C]E NKOYÏ N[AASH
]NAM [

"Give it to Apa Mine (Mêna), from Apa Enoch. Be so kind, when George, the camelherd [of?] Patine (4), comes to you, give 8 phores of wine and [12] small [lahê of wine?] to him [

173.

+ ε | Nωχ |

+ ε | Nωχ |

+ ε | Nωχ |

+ ε | Νωχ |

+ ε | Νωχ |

- Ε | Νωχ |

+ ε | Νωχ |

+ ε | Νωχ |

- Ε

⁽¹⁾ The same word is probably written (or printed) 2ΑΠΑΚΕ, Baouit ll, p. 130. If AKH = AKEC, which sometimes = ἀzίς, we may have here an iron tool maker; cf. 2ΑΜΚΑΛΕ, 2ΑΜΩΕ. The word in this sense, Berlin. Kopt. Urk. no. 26 ³, 38 ΕΚΗC, Triadon 592 AKEC (ωίξι) quid ?), PEYRON 249 b. AKEC, P. Lond. IV, 1631, col. 2, 10, AKEIC. (2) Unskilled hand.

⁽³⁾ Scribe of 168 etc. (4) Or (omitting prefixed 11-) "of Tine". Neither word appears elsewhere as a place name, unless perhaps in 30.

"Enoch [it is writes] to my brother Thomas (1), (saying,) Be so obliging (2) and give [a] phoros of wine and a lahê to master Pe[....] (3)

Makes, wine, 1 phoros.

1st Indiction, month Thoth 1, [. . .] 12th Indiction, beginning (4).

Enoch (5), I consent."

174.

This papyrus, bought by Dr. F. W. Kelsey in 1920, is assumed, on internal evidence, to be from Wadi Sarga; though the author, Cyrus, is not a person met with in other of our documents (unless perhaps in 188).

Η ΠΕΝΘΙΟΥ ΠΕΤΟΣΑΙ ΠΡΟΗΡΕ ΠΕΟΝΗΥ ΝΠΑΙΊ ΧΕΘΙΟ ΤΟ 1160 ΟΥΝΕ ΝΤΕ Ν[...] γας σοογΝΕ ΑγΕΙ ΤΟΟΤ ΣΑΠΕΒΑΙΊ ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΤΙ ΠΕΒΕΝΤΑΓΙΙ ΝΑΙΑ ΑγΟ σΟ 2ΪΧΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΟΟΥ ΜΝΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΟ ΤΟ ΝΕΟΟΥΝΕ ΣΑΤΠΑΙΘΕ ΝΙΣΟΛΟΚ/ $\overline{\mu}$, $\overline{\rho}$ α $\overline{\rho}$ $\overline{\eta}$ $\overline{\iota}$ $\overline{\rho}$ / $\overline{\iota}$ α + γ εωργι/ + κηρι

"Our father (6) it is writes (to) his sons, the brethren, regarding (?) the poll-tax (7), (saying,) Lo, (here are) 4 sacks

⁽¹⁾ Perhaps the dioixnth's of 375.

⁽²⁾ This phrase is used in 119. Cf Ryl. 360 n.

⁽³⁾ The 1st word in 1.6 is presumably a place name. Perhaps no gap before (D.

⁽⁴⁾ ἀρχῆ. (5) Unskilled hand.

⁽⁶⁾ Thus the writer styles himself in 175. He is presumably the abbot. Cf. 83.

⁽⁷⁾ On ἀνδρισμός v. P. Lond. IV 1338, Introd. and here 248. The 11-here prefixed is not clear in meaning, but can hardly be a simple genitive.

of [....] the sack-weaver (?) (1); they have been received by me in respect of his poll-tax. So |5| give him his receipt and see to them (2) all and let them be made at the rate of (3) 4 sacks to the half solidus. Month Phaophi 18, Indiction 11. George. Cyrus" (4).

175.

Papyrus.

+ πενειω[τ πετς2λι
πλτΔΙλ[ΚΟΝΙλ
ΝΗΡΠ ΝΦ[

γι/ οιν χδ/ α μ'[

+ ΔλΝΙΗΛ CΤΟΙΧ/[

Probably an order to supply wine. The writer, presumably Daniel the archimandrite (5), who in his own hand signs below, calls himself "our father", just as a monk refers to himself as "I, my brother So-and-so". He addresses the brother (in charge) of the διακονία. (6)

176.

Papyrus.

 $\mu \dots [$ The sum of $t = \zeta$ ind $t = \zeta$ independent $t = \zeta$ independent

⁽¹⁾ Cf. CRUM, Coptic Manuscr. no. XXII. This meaning involves however CA2T- for CA2- (the Τ absorbed by following σ).

^{(2) 6}W 21XN- as in BUDGE, Misc. 224, Ryl. 323, Miss. IV 534.

⁽³⁾ I. e. let those made be at the rate of ...

⁽⁴⁾ In a different, clumsy hand, doubtless the author's, while George is scribe. (5) Cf. 161.

⁽⁶⁾ As in Saqqara no. 314. The use in CSCO 73, 44, 45, 98, etc. indicates the place, not those on duty there.

An order to supply "fresh lentils", or a receipt on their delivery. Enoch, doubtless the oft recurring steward, signs in his own, clumsy hand, as in 167 ff., 182 etc.

177.

Η ΤΙ ΦΟΜΤΕ ΠΙΟΤΌ ΝΕΤΊ ΤΙΤΕ ΠΜΑ ΜΠΟΎΧΙ ΑΥΦ ΕΜ ΠΕΚΕΙΠΕ ΤΙΤΕ ΠΜΑ ΜΠΟΎ Η Η Η ΤΑΚΟΎΤ ΤΑΑС ΠΑΠΑ 2ΦΡ 2ΙΤΠΠΑΠΙΟΎΤΕ ΠΕΚΟΝΟΜ/

"Give 3 hots (1) of of Pmampouli (2); and if you do not find (any) of Pmampouli, give them (some) of Takoutês (3). Give it to Apa Hôr, from Papnoute, the steward."

178.

+ ті фомте мфорне пнрп пте пешм · мпрне пат секшт таас папа гшр гітпаупоуте поікопо моус +

"Give 3 phoros of wine of the southern vineyard to (?) the potters. (4) Give it to Apa Hôr, from Papnoute, the steward."

⁽¹⁾ Cf. 186 n. We must presumably read INIET. After 2 perhaps one or two letters. But we remain in doubt as to the material in question.

⁽²⁾ Perhaps the place in 303. A village Mimbâl, near Samalût, is a possible equivalent. (3) V. 213 n.

⁽⁴⁾ CEKOT, lit. "potter's place", his oven, or workshop, BM. 695, CO. 306, Is. XXX 14 (κεραμίου); its plur. til CIKOTE, CEKATE perhaps in 377 here and (as place name) P. Lond. IV, p. XLVIII. The potter is ΠΑΤCEKOT, Wessely, Stud. IX, 145; its plur. ΜΠΑΤCEKOT, Zoega 505. In our text perhaps read IIIIAT-, a better plur. than the preceding. It may be added that Krall CLXXXII, CGXXIII has another, presumably related word GKOT for potter (GKOT in P. Lond. V 1674 vo.).

179.

+ TI CNTE
N2OTC NIH
PR NATA
CEPNE
5 ARA 200P

ана зар папо

"Give 2 hots of wine to Apa Serne (1). (From) Apa Hôr, the "

180.

+ τι μπτενοο[γε πληκρατω[ϊωγαννή[c 2Ϊτναπ[α

"Give 12 [....] of unmixed(2) (wine) [to Apa] John [...], from Apa["

181.

Р ТААС НАПА МННА 21ТНМАПА ПАПНОУТО ПНКОНОМОС АРІ ТАГАПН СРОЈАНІ 5 ПАПА ІФЗАННО 1 НАК + ОУЖІ

⁽¹⁾ Found thus BM. 688, Baouit I 113, P. Lond. V, 1748, AMÉLINEAU, Géog. 12 n. (= "Aba Sirne"). Doubtless = Serenus, a name peculiar, in Christian times, to Middle Egypt and reminiscent perhaps of the martyr named with Isaac of Tiphre (TSBA. IX 101; cf. Archiv II 318, BGU. III 954), and a native of Tehneh (Hall, p. 132, the only Coptic mention so far of this place, = either El-Hibeh or Akoris; cf. Spiegeleerg, Äg. Zeitschv. LIII 1, 2). He is invoked on an Oxyrhynchite amulet (P. Oxyrh. 11561).

⁽²⁾ Ἄχρατος is variously deformed in Coptic: ΑΚΡΑΤΏΡ (to which the Virgin's breasts are compared) Bodl. g 1; ΑΙΙΚΡΑΤΏΡ Cairo medical pap., ed. CHASSINAT, l. 388; ΑΓΚΡΑΤΏΡ Βυρσε Misc. 10, Apoc. 46, TURAIEF Mater. no. 9; ΑΙΙΚΡΑΤΟΙΙ Comptes Rend. 1887, 376, and ΑΚΡΑΤΙΙΙΙ in 110 here.

verso της μημογκογί Ναν ογχαϊ ^{2Μ}ΠΧΟ

eic

From Papnoute, writer of 98, 177, 178 and probably of 114, and recipient of 95, 97 and perhaps 92, 186, 187.

"Give it to Apa Mêna, from Apa Papnoute, the steward. Be so kind, when Papa John comes to you, give (him) a can (1) [of] oil and a little meat. Farewell in the Lord."

182.

+ επωχ πεθεναϊ ππα τοπ γεωργε χετι νιττ πρτοθ πίσοση παμα μαρθα + εγρ/ 5 φαρι τα ινδ ιβ/ + + επωχ ττοιχ/

"Enoch it is writes to my brother George, (saying,) Give 10 artabae of nitre to Ama (2) Martha.

Written 11th Phamenoth, 12th Indiction. Enoch, I consent (3)."

183.

"Give it to my brother [....], from Enoch, his [father. Be so] kind and give [....] artabae of dates to ["

⁽¹⁾ XI is the name of a bronze vessel (?) in a Theban text HALL, Klio XIII, 173 = Crum, ST. 439.

⁽²⁾ Not necessarily a nun; sometimes a mere courtesy, e. g. Leontius Neap., Gelzer 22, also PEET, Cemet. Abydos 111, 39.

⁽³⁾ The same unskilled hand as in 167 etc.

184.

+ P стефапе печс2аї й пасоп їшснф жеті мнте пмаіре пкам

חגח

"Stephen it is writes to my brother Joseph (1), (saying,) Give 10 bundles (2) of reeds ["

185.

+ апа спох счета папа п[
папа п[
тт[

"Apa Enoch writes to papa Kolthe, (saying,) the wine (3), set it to the account of papa P[..."

186.

+

ANA IOYCTE

HETCRAÏ HINAN

THO HIOYTE XEXEY COOY

HIMOIAR HOIK HALL MHO[Y]

ROTE NREMX MHOYROTE TIX

⁽¹⁾ Cf. perhaps 115.

⁽²⁾ Besides PEYRON'S example, Ryl. 291. Cf. MHPG in Theban texts, CO. 180, 341 etc. Possibly the reeds were for use in a vineyard (cf. P. Oxy. XJV, 1631, 9 n.), or for mat making.

⁽³⁾ WAPE appears to be the word in KRALL XXIX, 4, where it can hardly be "rent". Cf. perhaps Ryl. 201, 210. The reading of the verb here is uncertain.

їр мійфорес спте перп п пакшт псороутон ауш жеу какметн пфорес пемріс пап ауш ті мн т пізесте перп пат алги етоуек

"Apa Justus [it] is writes to Papnoute, (saying,) Send us 6....(1) of bread and a |s| hots (2) of vinegar and a hots of pickle and 2 phoros of sorouton (3) wine for my father (4). And send us other 10 phoros of new wine. And add 10 xestes of (5) wine to each one."

Invoices.

187.

+ ενώχπε ενέζαϊ Μπλέου πλημούτε χεεις μαβτλέε πέοουνης πίσους αϊτήρους τη του μητίους είωωους [γι/ θ αλ/] λς σι/ αρτ/ πε εγρ/ μ π/

⁽¹⁾ MOIA2 is a measure (or receptacle) for grain, BM. 1055, for straw Ryl. 319. In Krall CCXLVII MOCI2 is among vessels, to judge by CAAO next it (cf. P. Lond. IV, 1610, 41 CAPO). In BM. 1066 its use is obscure. It is presumably the origin of μουεί(ον?), Wesselv, Stud. III, 280, and of the earlier μώτον, Reil, Beiträge 44. One or other of these forms in P. Oxy. 146, 1734, P. Grenf. I, XIV, Preisigke, SB. 1964. In these it appears as a hay or fodder measure.

⁽²⁾ V. CO. 348 n. An ostracon BP. 4949 shows its article fem. In 166, 198, it contains cheese, in 344 wine: therefore a jar or pot.

⁽³⁾ This word is COPOTOII in 141, CYPOYTOII in 92, CIPOTON in Krall CCXLIII (where it holds γλυχύν) and σιρω (τον) in Eg. Expl. Fund's Report 1904 – 5, 16 (= Preisigke, SB. 1960). Except in the present instance and in 92, it is clearly the vessel holding the wine or vinegar. Apparently unknown otherwise unless σειρητικός, an epithet of oil, P. Oxy. 1070, be the same word.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. 92. Presumably the abbot. Possibly however genitive, instead of dative, indicating a special quality of wine. Cf. 177, 178.

^{(5) &}quot;Un . . . wine"; but what the privative $\lambda \tau$ - qualifies is uncertain.

"Enoch it is writes to my brother Papnoute, (saying,) Lo, I have sent up (? down) 36 sacks of corn to you, making a total of four score and five artabae: [makes sacks] 36, 85 artabae of corn. Written, month [], 10th Indiction."

188.

 ληοκ παςου κίρε

 πηςελί νπαςον

 Стефаν πεκονομός

 χες εμη νκας ν

 λαος

 λαλτ πίνχιρ αίτνο

 ογεογ νακ

 μηνος ε αθηρ ιβ

"I, brother (1) Cyrus, it is write to my brother Stephen, the steward (2), (saying,) Lo, 40 carats (3) of pickle and 30 pots of pickle (4) have I sent you. Month of Athyr 12."

18q.

+ ес хоутачте пооупе исоуо аітноусоу нетн гі/ вала ка іна/ іг фам. нсаіас стої + інтенба моуа піднпарес

"Lo, 24 sacks of corn have I sent you. Makes (total), bags 24 (5). 13th Indiction, [...] Pham[enoth.] Esaias, I consent. By (?) the camels of Shenpares (6) (?)."

⁽¹⁾ Lit. "my brother". For Cyrus v. perhaps 174.

⁽²⁾ This steward recurs in 89, 376.

⁽³⁾ I cannot find this coin used elsewhere as a measure.

⁽⁴⁾ Perhaps γιλαπο γιχιρ. Cf. χιρλαψ, in a list of victuals in a Theban ostracon, BP. 402.

⁽⁵⁾ GOOYNE and OALLC thus appear to be identical quantities.

⁽⁶⁾ This sentence, added by a different hand and apparently complete, is difficult. The preposition 11T11- is improbable and the last word might be "of (the) sons of Pares", wherewith one might compare the place-name in 225.

IQO.

+ ka eic we 2ME wMO[γ N] HEPTOU COYO AITNO[YCOY] NAK 2ITNNECNHY [netp6 + 0 ri/pm[H](space)

🕂 ፀልአል/ žh

"2I(1). Lo, 148 artabae of corn have I sent you, by the brother [.... and] Peter. Total (2), makes artabae 14[8]. 68 bags (3)."

> IQI. 1 CIC MHT **ЧІС NЄРТОЧ** TICIM WATHO AMULE WINHILL 5 VIC 116PTO9 111 от фатноше CHTE AITHOYCOY €ΡΗΟ → εγρφα με/ις ινδ/

"Lo, 19 artabae of fodder, less 1 oive, and 19 artabae of barley, less 2 oipe, have I sent southward. Written 10th of Mesore, 6th Indiction."

192.

πω∈Γ **χτογε**[...].. ε ΑΥΦ ΕΧΤΧΜΗΝΕ ΠΟΟΟΥΠΕ AITHOOYCOY HAK 21 TOU THOUSANHE MAIL ΠΕΡΜΟΛΥ ΤΡΟ ΝΡΙΙΡ имгроу пекфиомос SILENIMSYNHC

⁽¹⁾ KA remains to be explained. Possibly a numeral, showing this to be the 21st invoice sent; or perhaps the day of the month.

⁽²⁾ Ø, though made like an ordinary Θ, is probably the symbol for όμου.

⁽³⁾ Do the 68 bags contain the corn sent?

TEXTS, 151

"...] |3| and lo (?) (1), I have sent you 28 sacks (2) by John, the camelherd. Give it (3) to Apa Nahrow, the steward, from John."

193.

₽ хоіак ке
6/ їєрнм/ мі
печспну гіто
отч паоукас
5 оі/ мік/ рчн м⁰/
коллоуюос
єграф/ +

"Choiak 25th (?). From Jeremias and his brethren (4), through Luke (5): wine, small.198 and no more.

Colluthus wrote it."

194.

The character of the following ostraca is not so certain as that of the preceding, owing to their brevity. They may conceivably be receipts without a date; but it seems unlikely that receipts, except by an accident, would be issued without a date, and on the whole it is most probable that they were notes of the destination and, in most cases, nature and amount, of consignments, sent with them as a check on full delivery.

₽ ткеман : 2їнаоукас пмансамоуа мінка/ : м :

⁽¹⁾ Reading ECXOYTUPHINE.

⁽²⁾ Contains fodder, onions or corn in these texts; most often the last.

⁽³⁾ TAC thus in 106. Perhaps by the same scribe.

⁽⁴⁾ This phrase is used on stelae (29, 30 etc.) for Thomas, founder of our monastery, and his group (v. Introduction, p. 7). Should it here be taken to refer to another community, possibly that near Antinoe, KRALL LXXXVI?

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. 245 ff.

"Tkeman(1), through Luke the camelherd, with 40 camels."

195.

This ostracon is probably complete, but the ink on the left side is so faint as to be illegible. It is therefore not certain that it is an invoice and not (e. g.) a receipt, beginning with a date, but it is placed here because it mentions the same place as 194.

. .] ткеман : . .] ан : [а/ па]нсе камаа/

- I. TREMAN: there can be little doubt that the place is Tkeman, but the last letter but one looks more like o than a, and o may have been (incorrectly) written.
 - 3. $\Pi\lambda$]HCG: see 320—324.

196.

The ostraca 196—199 all begin with the name of Apa Elias. He may be either the consignee or the camel-driver, perhaps more probably the former; but see 200 and 201.

ARA 2HAIAC OPFON 2AAWM. $\overline{15}$. ACKAAWNE 2AAWM: $\overline{5}$:

⁽¹⁾ Presumably the Tkemen of CSCO. 43, 150 and CRUM, Copt. MSS. p. 78 (a Fayyumic text). This seems to be near Heracleopolis. It looks unlike a native name and we may perhaps identify it with ACKIMALIII, near Bilgai (Rossi, Nuovo Cod. 87, cf. Synax., 25th Tūbah) and this possibly with "Tahmūn", leg. Tagamūn (Synax., 10th Baūnah), remembering that our name is in 253 written Tgeman. The village near Tkemen, Phwoh enniamew, suggests (translated) Bārūt al-Baqqār, opposite Beni Suēf, though phonetically it resembles the neighbouring Bahnamūh.

153

"Apa Elias. 16 orgon (1) of cheese, 6 askalone (2) of cheese."

197.

АПА 2HAIAC : КОДАӨЕ 2AAШМ : H : ЧIР 6ЧМН2 : A :

"Apa Elias, 8 kolathe of cheese, 4 baskets (3) full."

198.

апа гнајас галфи аскалфіје оргон : H : <u>I5</u> оунов нготс галфи

"Apa Elias. Cheese, 16 askalone, 8 orgon, a large hots of cheese."

199.

OI/ MET/: 4:

"Apa Elias. Wine, 90 large measures."

⁽¹⁾ In Budge, Apoc. 97, 99 Oppation is clearly a vessel holding water and corresponds to AAKON in the Boh. of this text (MIE. II, 400). Similarly in Budge, Misc. 387 AAKON = Oppanoli in the Boh., κογφοι in Sa. parallel texts (v. BM. 305). In CSCO. 43, 178 it is a vessel (or machine?) into which a martyr is to be cast, before burning. I assume that this and oppoli are identical, since the latter is used equally for containing victuals: lentils and cheese RE. 46, olives Bodl. Copt. b 9, pickle P. Lond. IV, 1631, c. 5. In Hall p. 129 Oppoli appears in a list of wine vessels. In a Theban pap. (Turaleff in Mem. Russian Archeol. Soc. XVIII, 026) Oppoli is found in an unilluminating context.

⁽²⁾ In 198 and 203 this holds cheese, in 237, 275 perhaps wine (cf. Leontius, Gelzer, p. 37). Other instances, BM. 1044 n. Note that ACKOAOIH in the Scalae is translated "cloth or napkin, wherein things are laid or wrapt" (so H. Almkvist, Kleine Beiträge 285, though Kircher, p. 119 has it for "face veil").

⁽³⁾ The use of this in 275 shows that the BIP normally contained the same article, presumably (as often elsewhere) bread.

200.

As Mathias and Hôr are both known as camel-drivers, it seems likely that they are the persons named here, the consignee not being mentioned; cf. too 201, where the camel-driver is named at the beginning. In 196-199, on the contrary, Apa Elias, not known elsewhere as a camel-driver, is perhaps more likely to be the consignee. The ostracon is a palimpsest, traces (two lines) of an earlier text, written before this piece of pot was broken off, being visible at the top.

+ мабіас s шрос фоілік/ бала/ ав

"Mathias and Horus. Dates, 32 thallia."

201.

 $+ \exp[\text{Tabioc}]$ Kama[A/] CITOY AP[TABM] II eikoci[

"Eustathius (?), camel-driver. Wheat, 20 artabas."

4 f. λρ[ΤλΒω]|n: the division is not, in the case of these ostraca, a fatal objection to the reading, but it is of course possible that we ought to read μεικοςι, part of a place-name; qu. Εἰχοσιπενταρούρων?

202.

+ K
APAKE DÏUÏ

аракє = ἄραχος, "arak" (as in BM. 1132, Fayyûmic аракі, Krall CCXXVII, от арака, Crum, Copt. MSS., p. 78).

Of thrice repeated in I can make nothing.

203.

ልርK*ል*አመበ<u>ር</u> የልአመM : IR :

"12 askalone of cheese."

204.

снау оубос пбамоуа исо оуо тшганнс

"2 and a half camels (loads)(1) of corn. John."

Receipts.

The receipts, to which class the great majority of the Greek ostraca belong, fall, for the most part, into certain clearly marked types, and they have been arranged accordingly. The first receipt of each type is furnished with an introduction dealing with all the documents of its class. The measures which occur are discussed not in the notes to the individual receipts but in the section of the general introduction devoted to the metrology of these ostraca. As the receipts are so uniform in type it seems useless to give translations of all, and only a few are translated to serve as specimens of the various classes.

205.

First are placed those receipts which begin with a date. The majority of these (213-339) are arranged on the plan: Date; place-name; amount of wine; name of camel-driver without $\delta(\alpha)$; no signature by the clerk. This class is dealt with in the introduction to 213. But first are placed some receipts which begin indeed with a date but in other respects follow a different arrangement. Nos. 205-208 show the scheme: Date; number of $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda l\alpha$ and amount of corn in artabas; $\delta(\alpha)$ with a personal

⁽¹⁾ V. Introduction, § IV Metrology.

name; signature of the clerk issuing the receipt. These offer no difficulty, except as regards the question as to the purpose of the receipt, which is more conveniently dealt with in connexion with the section 213-330 below, and the meaning of θαλλία. The figures following this word show that it is here used as a measure (see the general introduction); but it is curious that no article is specified. An analogy is furnished by some of the ostraca (already referred to in a previous section) published by Grenfell and Hunt in the Archaelogical Report of the Eg. Expl. Fund for 1905-6 and 1906-7 and now included in Preisigke's Sammelbuch, viz. SB. 1966, θ/ ζ (άρτ.) ια; 1967, $\theta/\lambda\beta$ (άρτ.) νε; 1968, θαλησι () ιδ [so edd., but probably θαλ(λία) η σ l(τ. ἀρτ.) εδ or θαλ (λία) η σ l(τ.) ἀρ(τ.) δ is to be read]; 1978, θαλ-(λία) ιε (ἀρτ.) λ. In 306 and 316 θαλλίον occurs as a measure of dates, in 367 of barley, and in 370 of vegetable seed; it is nowhere used as a measure of wine. As oftos in Byzantine times was regularly used as "wheat", not as "corn" in general, and Oakkiev once occurs as a measure of barley, it is possible that barley is to be understood here. There are however some obiections to this.

In the first place, since wheat was far the commoner crop it is strange that barley, not it, should be the one to be unnamed; one would expect the more usual produce, if either, to be understood, the less usual to be named. Secondly, since barley was regularly reckoned by artabas, there seems no reason why it should here be reckoned by θαλλία, wheat, as usual, by artabas. In the third place it is significant that in all cases (except 360; see the introduction there) the number of artabas is just double that of θαλλία. This is not, indeed, the case with Grenfell and Hunt's ostraca. In 1978, 15 θαλλία are half the number of artabas (30); but in the other cases the proportion is different. In 1966 the figures are ζ and ια; and here we may suspect that ια is really to be read ιδ, which gives the required ratio, 7: 14. In 1967 λβ and νε, and in 1968 θαλησι():δ, are less tractable. It is perhaps possible that in 1967 ve may be a misreading, though it seems hardly likely that \$2, the double of λβ, could be read as ve; nor do η and ι2, the reading sug-

gested above for 1968, lend themselves easily to correction $(\eta:\iota\varsigma \text{ or } \zeta:\iota\varsigma)$. Nevertheless the evidence of the present collection and the fact that one and very likely two of the Arch. Report ostraca show the same ratio make it at least possible that a revision of the others also might reveal it; and in any case it is not unlikely that $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda lov$ in the Wadi Sarga receipts (with the possible exception of 360)(1) is to be taken as simply an alternative way of expressing the amount stated in artabas; i. e. that a $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda lov$ was 2 artabas. It is strange that it here comes first and that $\sigma l(\tau ov)$ is placed with $(\alpha \rho \tau \alpha \rho a)$, not with it; but the combination $\sigma l(\alpha \rho a)$ or $\sigma l(\sigma a)$ was so common that it may have become well-nigh inseparable, the clerks writing it without any consciousness of the $\sigma l(\tau ov)$.

The receipts $205-20\delta$, which, as has been said, show the same arrangement, were all issued by a clerk named Horus. Only in 205 is the person whose name follows $\delta(\imath z)$ described as a camel-driver; in 206 we have an $d\rho\chi$ $\iota \tau \chi \rho \tau \gamma \gamma \rho \tau \gamma \rho \gamma$

+/ MECOP/ IO

OAAA/ AH CIO OS

A/ NOVE KOCTANTING

KAMAA/ NEPOM CEBHT

5 + OPOC ETOIXH

"Mesore 19. 38 thallia, 76 artabas of wheat by Nohe son of Constantine, camel-driver of the men of Sebêtef (?). Horus: correct."

- 3. NOZE: the n, though doubtful, is probable.
- 4. першм єєвнтч: Coptic; see translation. The name could equally well be read ссамтч, but that seems an impossible name.

⁽¹⁾ See however 187 and 190. In 190, 68 thallia correspond with 148 artabas; in 187, 36 [thallia] correspond with 85 artabas. Even at Wadi Sarga, therefore, the rule, if rule it is, does not hold good throughout.

206.

Pj mecop/ ke

BAAA/ NH

CI| PIC A./ MAKAP/

AXPICYMAXOC

P OPPOC CTOIX/

"Mesore 25. 58 thallia, 116 artabas of wheat, by Macarius, chief courier. Horus: correct."

4. AXPICYMANQC: sic. Cf. III.

207.

+/ мссор/ κς

Ολλλ/ Μ

CI ΤΠ Δ/ ΘΝΟΝ

ΠΚΟΥΡ + ΦΡΟΟ

5 CTOIXE ΜΟΥ

"Mesore 26. 40 thallia, 80 artabas of wheat, by Enoch the deaf man. Horus: correct."

- 4. πκογρ: κογρ occurs once or twice in late Sa'idic texts, e. g. BIF. XIV, 114.
- 5. CTOING MOY: quite possibly the characters which follow crown are merely flourishes. This is rather supported by 208, 5; see note there.

208.

+/ MCCOP/
KZ BAAA/ M
CIO II A/ IIA
CON IEPHMIAC
5 + WPOC CTOIX...

"Mesore 27. 40 thallia, 80 artabas of wheat, by brother Jeremias. Horus: correct."

5. CTOIX is probably followed by nothing more than flourishes.

209.

This receipt is for wine, but its arrangement agrees with that of the preceding ones. The clerk is MINIO, who occurs also in the series 345-354, all in the same hand as the present receipt. The name is naturally taken as a miswriting of Menas, though this seems difficult to reconcile with the fact that in 345, 346, 352 and 353 the name Menas, correctly spelled, also occurs, which suggests the form Minus (Mivos) for this name; but no such name seems to occur elsewhere, and cf. 167, 2, MINIA, and 172, 1, MINIO, as compared with 181, 1, MINIA.

+ θωθ

6ΠΑΓ΄ Γ Ά Φ/

Α΄ ΙϢCΗΦ΄ ΚΑΜΆΑΙ

ΟΙ΄ ΜΕΓ΄ ΕΣΗΚΟΝΤΆ

5 ΟΚΤϢ ΓΙ΄ ΟΙ΄ ΜΕΓ΄ ΣΗ Μ΄

Α΄ ΜΙΝΟ ΕΓΡΑΙ

"Thoth, 3rd intercalary day, 1st convoy, by Joseph, cameldriver: wine, sixty-eight large measures = wine, 68 large, only. Written by Menas."

210.

This receipt is for έψημα (boiled wine) and is issued by .Phibius. In other respects it agrees with the foregoing.

"Mesore 23. Ditto, by John, boiled wine, 24 phorai, 96 jars. Written by me Phibius."

I. Though the edge of the pot is broken immediately after $\kappa\Gamma$, it is unlikely that anything is lost except the two strokes

following the numeral. Hence the $\delta\mu\omega l(\omega\varsigma)$ of l. 2 cannot refer to anything preceding (l. 1, though near the top edge of the ostracon, was probably the first line) and was presumably inserted mechanically by a clerk accustomed to writing OMOI/ in his daybook. So too in l. 2 nothing beyond the H is likely to be lost.

- 3. ΥΨΗΜΑΤ: the τ is very doubtful, but there can be little question that έψήματος is meant. For this see index to P. Lond. IV, where it is very common.
- 4. κλλ/ 45: perhaps κάδοις 45, "in 96 jars"? κάδος does not elsewhere occur as a definite measure, and cf. 126, where various amounts of wine are perhaps noted as taken from numbered κάζοι.

211.

The two following receipts are both issued by a clerk named Colluthus. They agree in arrangement with the foregoing except that the date is followed by the name of the estate or settlement from which the wine came and that they specify the $\varphi \circ p \acute{\alpha}$.

"Thoth 16, wine from Thallou, 4th convoy, by Athanasius, camel-driver: wine, 115 = one hundred and fifteen *cnidia*. Written by Colluthus. Similarly, one camel-load, wine, 24 = twenty-four *cnidia*.

1. ΘΆλλογ: in 212 a place-name occurs in this position, and Θάλλοῦ is frequently found (e. g., in 216 and 217) in a position implying that it is the name of a village or an estate; otherwise we might take εἴ(νου) θάλλοῦ as = "a present" (i. e., a "custo-

mary payment") "of wine". For estates named in this way, after common nouns, see index 4(b) to P. Lond. IV, e. g., 'Αμπελουργοῦ, Βαφέως, Λάκκου; and in the present volume ἔργανον 'Αμπέλου in 355 and 356. But 212, 4 is a difficulty; see note there. Θαλλοῦ occurs as a place-name in Krall 242, 23, Ryl. 256, 3. Cf. also P. Flor. I 50, 17, 60, 84 (a κώμη; Hermopolite nome), Wessely Studien, X, no. 203, 3 (χωρίον; Heracleopolite nome); 190, 3 (Hermopolite nome). There is a Tallah now, opposite Minyah, also a Talâ N. W. of Feshn.

- 2. A is much more likely than A, and if it is correct this is an exception to the rule that 3 is the highest number of $\varphi \circ \varphi \circ \alpha'$ in these ostraca (see introduction to 121). Cf. 355, 4; 368, 2.
- 6. KAM/: no doubt (in view of the $\tilde{\epsilon}\nu$) = $\varkappa \alpha \mu \dot{\eta} \lambda \iota \sigma \nu$; cf. 370, 5 and note, and see General Introduction, § Metrology.

212.

 4 λθγρ 5 κωμ πλεβιωογ Δ/ μαθίας \$ πκογ θ/ $\overline{\lambda}$ φογρ/ οι/ μεγ/ μ μολλογθ/ εγρλγ/

"Hathyr 6, village of Plebiôw, by Mathias and Pkou. Thallou(?), 1st convoy: wine, 40 large measures only = forty. Written by Colluthus."

- 2. ΠΑΕΒΙΘΟΥ: Plebiôw recurs in P. Alex. XIII (Sphinx X 4, collated), a thoroughly Fayyûmic text; also at Bawit (Clédat, Baouit, II 30) and as ΠΑΕΒΘΟΥ (ib. I 137). In the first of these Feshn is mentioned, seemingly as further South.
- 4. Θ': θ/ naturally suggests θαλλοῦ or θαλλία. The second is unlikely, as θαλλία do not elsewhere occur along with deliveries of wine, and only, when unaccompanied by the name of an article (except in 260), in conjunction with an amount of wheat; moreover θαλλία would hardly be placed before the Coptica III.

specification of the φερά. Hence θαλλεῦ is the probable extension, and the fact that a place-name has already been given suggests that the word is here a common noun and means "present", "customary payment," as suggested in the note on 211, 1. But Plebiôw is a village, not an estate, and Θαλλεῦ may well have been an estate situated there; or the meaning may be "of Thallou", referring to the two carriers. Hence there is no need to adopt the alternative explanation.

213.

The great majority of the receipts belong to the series beginning with the present one. With a few unimportant individual variations all these receipts follow a uniform scheme, which is as follows: Date; place-name; amount of wine; name of camel-driver, without $\delta(i\hat{x})$. In a few cases the name of the camel-driver has been omitted; fairly often consignments are noted from more than one place, and occasionally a second payment is inserted, no doubt by an afterthought, after the name of the camel-driver. These receipts are here arranged according to the names of the camel-drivers, and, in each section, by the names of the towns or villages; at the end are given those in which the name of the camel-driver is not inserted or has been lost.

As the type is so uniform, the interest of most of these receipts lies mainly in the place-names and the measures used. There is however a general problem to be settled in regard to them. To whom and by whom were they given, and what is their purpose? The only personal name which occurs in each is that of the camel-driver; did he issue the receipt, or was he the recipient? And, in the latter case, where was the receipt given him?

That the camel-drivers whose names occur on these receipts were not the persons who issued them is proved conclusively by the hands, which do not vary with the camel-drivers. The great majority of the receipts are in a single hand; nor do the other hands which occur correspond with the occurrences of

any one camel-driver. Clearly, then, the camel-driver is merely the carrier of the wine; the receipts were issued by a clerk who did not sign his name.

We may conclude that the receipts were given to the camel-driver either when he received the wine for conveyance or when he delivered it at its destination; in the first case these ostraca are of course not to be regarded as receipts at all but a sort of wav-bill or tally, which he delivered up to the recipients of the wine as a check on proper delivery. In favour of this hypothesis is the fact that the ostraca were all found on a single site, whereas we might expect the camel-drivers to come from various places; indeed some of them are described as "of so-and-so" (e.g., 205, 4). But the hands again seem a conclusive objection; for on this theory we should have to suppose that the ostraca were written in many different places and therefore by different clerks, whereas only a very few hands are found in them, whose occurrences do not correspond with the occurrences of any particular place-name. Hence it seems clear that the ostraca are receipts given to the camel-drivers on delivery of the wine. From this two conclusions follow: first. as the ostraca were all found at Wadi Sarga, the camel-drivers must have lived there, at least part of their time, and second, it seems probable that the receipts were meant for the cameldrivers only, to clear them of responsibility for the wine, not for the consignors. Receipts to the latter would hardly have been found at Wadi Sarga; and moreover they would almost certainly bear the names of the consignor and of the recipient or his representative.

The case may, however, be different with the preceding ostraca. 205—208 are not only all issued by the same clerk but they have no place-name. It seems quite likely therefore that they are in the nature of a way-bill, given to the cameldriver with the wine and handed over by him on making delivery; and 209—212 may be of the same class.

First are placed the receipts issued to Hôr.

+ HAORE $\overline{\lambda}$:

TAKOYOYTC:

OI/ MEF/: $\overline{\lambda}$: MIK/ $\overline{\lambda}$ NM2ATE:

OI/ MEF/: \overline{z} NE2: AAK/ $\overline{\lambda}$ 2CDP KAMAA/

"Phaophi 1. Takwutes: wine, 30 large measures, 1 small. Nemhate: wine, 7 large; oil, 1 lakkon. Hôr, camel-driver."

- 2. TAKOYOYTC: the forms which occur are the foregoing (four times), TAKOYTC (twice), and TAKOYTHC (twice). Therefore it = Takwutes or Takoutes; the termination (as in Tjites) not representing x (ts). Taxotupo in P. Lond. IV 1460, 150 seems scarcely worth comparing here, and the place remains to be identified.
- 4. IMPATE: this occurs in Hyvernat's Actes 287 as IGM2A+. Our text supports Hyvernat's reading (cf. Amélineau, Géogr. 274 n.). Presumably in the Heracleopolite neighbourhood, since of the other places named with it, leblil is near Banâ, Naui in the Heracl. nome and Shbenti (Eshment) not much farther north.

214.

πλοπε λ̄ :

ΤΆΚΟΥΟΥΤΟ
ΟΙ΄ ΜΕΓ΄ : λΙΗ
2ΦΡ ΚΑΜΆλ

215.

ΘΦΘ : Κλ̄ :

ΤΧΙΤΟ
ΟΙ΄ ΜΕΓ΄ : λ̄ :
2ΦΡ Κλ
ΝΑΛ

2. TXITC: not found elsewhere.

5

216.

P ΘΨΘ : ΚΆ

ΤΧΙΤΌ

ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ : Α΄:

2ΦΡ ΚΑΜΆΑ/
ΑΆΚΟΙΙ : Α΄:

ΘΆΑΛΟΥ :

ΜΙΚ/ : Α΄

"Thoth 21. Tjites: wine, 4 large measures. Hôr, cameldriver. 4 lakka. Thallou: 1 small measure."

5. AAKOII: A: it is to be noticed that the number is the same as in 1.3; and in 1.7 the wine from Thallou is measured by the $\mu\mu\nu\rho\dot{\nu}\nu$. This may suggest that here AAKOII = $\mu\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha$, not $\mu\nu\nu\rho\dot{\nu}\nu$ as in 167, where see the note. See the metrological section of the introduction.

217.

₽ ΘΨΘ : ΚΓ :
ΘΆΑΛΟΥ '
ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ : ΚΑ :
2WP ΚΑΜΆΑ/
ΝΙΚ/ ΜΘ

218. Ψ ΘΦΘ : ΚΕ : ΤΑΣΡΟΥΧ : ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ : ΝΉ 2ΦΡ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

2. ΤΑΡΡΟΥΧ: this name occurs in Ryl. 325, 5. Cf. (?) Dahrût, opposite Sharôna; also Ταρούθις (P. Oxy. 998, Wessely Stud., X, no. 39, 8); but cf. ΤΑΡΟΥΧΕΦΟ in 254. A name similarly formed is Ταρούσεβτ (P. Oxy., l. c.)

219. ΘωΘ · KB · ΤΟΥΝ2ωΡ ΟΙ/ ΜΘΓ/ · AB · 2ωρ ΚΑΜΑΑ/

2. Sanhûr is the name of several places, one in the N.W. of the Fayyûm; yet that, though distant from most of the places named, may be ours: Tiloj and Hnês are not much less distant.

220.

 $P \rightarrow \overline{OOO} : \overline{KA} :$ $TCYN2COP \rightarrow MET/ : \overline{H} :$ $OI/ MIK/ \cdot \overline{DA} \rightarrow$ 2COP KAMAA/

221.

 ΦΑΦΦΙ : IE :
 ΤΕΥΝ2ΦΡ ·
 ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ : OZ
 2ΦΡ ΚΑΜΆΑ

3. \overline{oz} : z corr. from \leq .

222.

 $P = \overline{\Theta \Theta} : \overline{K} : TOY2\Theta$ OI/ MGF/: $\overline{A}A$: $2 \overline{\Theta} P = KAMAA$

1. τογ2ω: see 133, 3 note.

223.

² Οωθ : κ ·

ΤΟΥ2ω

ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ Ις ·

2ωρ καμαλ/

224.

2. ΤΜΟΥΠCIM: not found elsewhere; = "Grass Island".

225.

In this and the following receipts the camel-driver is named John. It is however doubtful whether the same person is concerned throughout. In 227 the name is increment koyi ("John the younger"), in 228 increment 1006 ("John the elder"), and we also have a John $\frac{1}{1000}$ (351) or and $\frac{1}{1000}$ (354), a John $\frac{1}{1000}$ (121, 2; 122, 18; 385). These may conceivably all be the same, but the name was a very common one, and it is more likely that there were several camel-drivers called John.

₽ өшө : к<u>в</u> . тсүизшр оі/ мег/ · кz йшзанінс камаа/

226.

₽ Θωθ : κ̄_B : ΤCΥΝ2ωρ · ΟΙ/ Μ6Γ/ : λ̄_B · Ϊω2λΝΗC ΚΑΜΑλ/

227.

3. \overline{n} : apparently a corr.

228.

2. $\overline{\kappa z}$: z corr., probably from ε . 4. $\kappa \varepsilon$: = xz? or perhaps more likely the Coptic $\kappa \varepsilon$, "other". Cf. 294, 4.

229.

OWO : \overline{B} ·

TMOYNCIM

OI/ MGT/ · $\overline{2}$ A. $\overline{1}$ · $\overline{1}$

230.

P OWO : IE :

TMOYHCIM ·

OI/ : MET/ : AH :

YUZANNHC KA

NAA/

5

231.

₽ Θ<u>ωΘ</u> : III : τογ2ω ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ : λ : Τω22ΕΙΝΗς ΚΑΜΑΑ/

232.

This receipt is probably complete, as nothing more is required at the beginning; but l. r is close to the upper edge of the potsherd, and something may therefore be lost.

TWOY . MET \overline{H} : TWANHC KAMAA/

2. Τωογ: Tôw occurs twice in these ostraca and twice in Krall (CXXXVII, CCXXXII), both times as in the Heracleopolite nome. Presumably Wessely Studien, X, no. 44, 7 (Heracl. nome) is another instance of the same place as in Krall; but in P. Lips. 99, 19; P. Ryl. (Gr.) II 99, 2 we have Tooú in the Hermopolite nome, while in P. Oxy. 1746 the χώμη Τοού is placed in that of Aphroditopolis. The Tooú of P. Oxy. VII 1068, 17 cannot be localized; Hunt refers for the Hermopolite nome to BGU. 892, P. Lips. 99, 19, but as there is mention of the Arsinoite nome the Heracleopolite Tωού is perhaps equally likely.

233.

 Θ ООӨ Θ TK6MAN Θ MEГ/ : \overline{KA} MIK/ $\overline{3}\Theta$. \overline{W} $\overline{W$

"Thoth 9. Tkeman: 21 large, 69 small measures. John, camel-driver; complete. Phouêu: 28 large."

- I. TKEMAII: see 194, I note.
- 2. KA: A is a correction.

5

4. πληρογ: probably for πλήρης, as an afterthought; it does not seem likely to be a place-name ("camel-driver from Plêrou"); cf. 255, 3.

φογηγ possibly the same as the Φη0 of P. Lond. V 1866 (Hermopolite nome), where the correct reading is Φ35 (see Aegyptus III 100).

234. офо іа фоуну : мег/ · па : їшгапініс камаа/

235.

- β αθωρ κε φ . τάτη

- οι/ μικ/ - ½

πιον : μεγ/ ½ς

νικ/

ϊωγατημό κανία/

- 1. O TATH: smudged and hardly legible. O is very uncertain; ϵ is possible. The name is not timeate (213) nor realizeah (237).
- 3. IIIOM cf. 56, 6 note. Considering some of the other localities whence wine comes, it seems likely that this is Medînet el-Fayyûm.
 - 4. No figure has been inserted.

236.

P XOIAK F HIOM

OI/ MIK/ CM

IIM'2ATE: KO

TOUSATHE KAMA

3. IMPRATE: cf. 213, 4 note.

237.

 □ ΦΑΦΦΙ : ĬB
 □ ΘΕΑΝΣΘΑΗ
 □ ΘΕΑΝΣΘΑΗ
 □ ΘΕΑΝΣΘΑΗ
 □ ΘΕΑΝΣΘΑΗ
 □ ΘΕΑΝΣΘΑΕΝ
 □ ΘΕΑΝ

2. 26 AH26 AH: cf. 'Aλιλάις (Heracleopolite nome), P. Hib. I, p. 8, or τ26 A26 AGI. P. Lond. IV 1419, 1241, 1243, 1259; but neither is very likely.

238.

15 OOO : KH ·

UYEBIOOA ·

UMEL\ : MH ·

UMEL\ : WH ·

2. ПАСВІШОУ: cf. 212, 2 note.

239.

їшгапінс кама/

2. ΤΙCΥΝΟΥΛΟΤ: this (an abnormal form) rather than ΠΟΥΜΟΥΛΟΤ, seems to be the reading; and cf. 310 and 323. No doubt Samalût, 15 miles N. of Minyah. On a stele ΤΟΘΜΟΥΛΟΤ (TURAIEFF Christ. Vost. I 48). Cf. P. Lips. 99, 16, Wessely Stud. III, no. 300, Σομολῶ (Hermopolite nome). V. also the note on the Cosmas-Damianus fresco, in the Introduction, p. 13.

240.

P 000 1 000

3. MIK/: no number has been inserted.

241.

₽ ΘωΘ : III :
ΘΆΑΛΟΥ :
ΘΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ : ΑΙΙ :

242.

₽ ΘΦΘ : IH :
ΘΑΛΛΟΥ
ΟΙ/ ΜΕΚ/ Π .
ΤΩΣΑΝΗΣ ΚΑΝΑΛ

3. \overline{M} GK/: so written; 1. μ IX($\rho\alpha$).

243.

P ΘΦΘ : ΚΙ΄

ΘΑΛΑΟΥ

ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ : PAB

ΪΦΙΣΑΝΙΝΗΟ ΚΑΜΑΑ/

2 A letter has possibly been deleted after ολλογ:

244.

P XOIAK : A
OI/ MIK/ TTI

KAM/
TOPAUHC

.245.

The next section consists of receipts addressed to Luke, who in 248 and 249 is described as AOYKAC HMAHGAMOYA/ (or MOA/).

₽ ΘΦΘ · ΚΠ ΚΟΥΛΗΥ · ΟΙ/ Μ€Γ/ ΑΗ : ΛΟΥΚΑΣ ΚΑΜΑΛ

2. This recalls the Hermopolite village Παγγουλεείου (probably nominative, P. Oxy. 998, 1147 etc.), the first part of which, Παγγά, enters into other names thereabouts (ib. 899 etc.) Cf. perhaps El-Kulei'a, near Feshn. Nazlet Kuleib, near Deirut, seems too far south. It may be here noted that the martyr, Epime, whose Acta give us the Coptic form, Pankôleus, was really named Epimachos; cf. P. Lond. III p. 279 Ἐπίμαχος δ καὶ Απιμα.

246.

P ΘΦΘ : ΚΘ : ΚΟΥΑΗΥ ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ / : ΙΑ : — ΓΙΜ2ΑΤΕ : ΜΓ : ΑΟΥΚΑΟ ΚΑΜΑΑ /

247.

₽ Θ Θ : $\overline{K\Theta}$: \overline{I} : \overline{I}

- 1. $\overline{\text{KO}}$: the cross-stroke of Θ has been omitted, so that the letter looks like Θ .
 - 2-3. These places occur together in 213 also.

248.

₽ θωθ ηϊληΔ/ ΤΜΟΥΝΟΙΜ : MGK/ . Π ΑΟΥΚΆΟ ΠΜΑΠΘΆΜΟΥΑ

1. ΠΊΔΝΑ/: Or ΝΪΑ ΝΑ/; cf. 283, 1, where the word precedes τογ2ω, and 293, 1, where it goes with τμογησιμ. This suggests (as it is no necessary part of the names) that in all cases it may stand for ΝΙΔΝΑΡΕC, "the men of" (or ΝΙΔΝΑΡΙCΜΟΣ); but this combination of Greek and Coptic would be a very strange one. In 174 however the same abbreviation appears to = ἀνδρισμός.

174

TEXTS.

249.

₽ θωθ : ῑє :

ΤΜΟΥΝ̄CΙΜ ·

ΟΙ/ : ΜCΓ/ [[κ̄λ]]

ΚΔ.

ΑΟΎΚΑΟ
ΠΜΑΓΙΘΆ

3. KA: not KA, apparently. It is therefore not clear why the clerk deleted it; but perhaps he accidentally repeated the number and discovered his mistake later.

6 f. GAMOA: sic.

250.

₽ ошо ī5 тмоунсім оі/ мег/ · ав : лоукас 5 камал/

1. $\overline{15}$: 5 is a corr., probably from Γ .

251.

 $\overline{\Theta \Theta \Theta}$: \overline{iz} -thoyricin oi, Mik/ $\overline{3}$ aoyrac kamaa/

252.

ΘωΘ : Γ· —

TKGMAN

MGT/ MS

AOYKAC ΠΚΑ

5 ΜΑΑΙΤΗΟ

3. Ms: apparently in different ink from the rest, and probably added later; there does not seem to have been a deletion.

253.

Θωθ : A. : TΓGMAII · MGΓ/ : MH :

[[ΜΑΚ]] ΛΟΎΚΑΟ ΠΚΑΜΑΛ/

3. MAK: for Macarius see 261-278.

254.

This differs slightly in arrangement from the usual type. The name of the camel-driver comes immediately after the date and is accompanied by $\delta(\iota\acute{a})$, while the place-name is inserted at the end. The different arrangement may be due simply to the difference of clerk; the hand is not the usual one.

₽ ΘωΘ : κz Δ/ λογκ^λ οι/ μικ/ π τλρογνσως

3. Tarouchis is not known, but cf. TARPOYX in 218, etc.

255.

 $P \overline{\Theta \Theta \Theta}$: $\overline{K \Delta}$ $TCYN2 \Theta P OI / MIK / \overline{K}$: $NO \overline{MIK} = \overline{K}$ OMOI $\overline{MIK} = \overline{M}$ $NO \overline{MIK} = \overline{M}$ AOYKAC KANAA/

3. HAHPOYI: sic, apparently (for $\pi isin price)$; but possibly the stroke at the end is meant merely as part of the punctuation mark (1–). Cf. 233, 4.

256.

- Θωθ : κ̄z

Τλερούα

οι/ μεγ ϊ

ομοίως :

5 οι/ μικ/ : ος ·

λούκας καμαλ/

176

TEXTS.

257.

 $P = \overline{\Theta \Theta \Theta} : \overline{KA} : \Theta \lambda \lambda \lambda O Y :$ OI/ MIK . $\overline{P} :$ AOYKAC KAMAA/

2. MIK/: I looks as if it were written over a deletion. The clerk may have begun to write MGF/.

258.

 $\begin{array}{ccc} \mathbb{P} & \overline{\Theta\Theta\Theta} & \overline{K} : TOY2\Theta \\ & OI/ MET/ & \overline{M} & \cdot \\ & AOYKAC KAMAA/ \end{array}$

259.

өшө : Т : фоүнү мег/ : м :

доукас камад/

260.

This receipt is exceptional in being not for wine but for $\theta \approx \lambda \lambda (2)$, no article being specified. It may probably be for wheat; see introd. to 205, and cf. 189.

+ ΔΘΎΡ ΪΑ ΑΟΎΚΑС ΘΆλΑ/ ΚΒ

261.

The receipts of this section are addressed to Macarius.

₽ 000 кө 1а/ Такоүтнс мүг/ ка. Макаре Камоуа

1. KO 1λ /: it is not possible to read KO 1^{λ} /, i. e. "20, 9th indiction", but the 11th indiction may be intended; cf. 285, 1.

3. $MY\Gamma/:=\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha$.

5. καμογα: probably = καμηλίτης rather than σαμογα.

262.

263.

πλοπε : λ :

ΤΑΚΟΥΤΕ :

ΟΙ ΜΕΓ / : ΙΔ : ΠΛΗ /

ΚΟΥΛΗΥ : ΟΙ / ΜΙΚ / ΝΖ ·

ΤΑΚΟΥΤΕ : ΟΙ / ΜΙΚ /

ΣΓ :

ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΚΑ

ΜΑΛ /

"Phaophi 1. Takoutes: wine, 14 large measures in full. Koulêu: wine, 57 small measures. Takoutes: wine, 63 small measures. Macarius, camel-driver."

3-4. So written in the original.

5. No doubt these μικρά were accidentally omitted above and inserted here when the mistake was discovered.

264.

πλοπε : \(\overline{\sigma} \) :

ΤΆΚΟΥΟΥΤΕ :

ΜΙΚ/ : \(\overline{\sigma} \) : \(\overlin

265.

 $θωθ : \overline{lλ} :$ TΟΥ2ω : $MEΓ/ : \overline{O} :$

макаре 5 камаа/

266.

P ΘΦΘ : IH '
ΤΟΥ2Φ : OI/ ΜΕΓ/ . AB :
ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΚΑΜΆΑ/

267.

 $P \overline{\Theta \Theta \Theta} : \overline{K \lambda}$

τογεω

OI/ MET/ : KA :

панро $\gamma:-$

5 TXITC

OI/ MET/ · IA

макаре

KAMAA/

5 TXITC: see 215, 2 note.

268.

P ΘΦΘ · KΓ . ΘΑΛΑΟΥ ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ : AB : ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΚΑΜΆΑ/

269.

 $P \overline{\Theta \Theta \Theta} : \overline{KA} :$

өрүү оі/ мік/ $\overline{\mathrm{ux}}$: 'панроу :

макаре камаа/

TCYΓ12ωρ : MIK/Γ:

5 OI/ MET/ : IA

270.

The ink of this receipt is extremely faint, and at the ends of lines decipherment is difficult.

P ΘωΘ : ΚΑ ΤΟΥΝ2Φ[Ρ] ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ Ζ ΟΜΟΙΦΟ ΜΙΚ/ [.] 5 ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΚΑΜΑ[Α/]

4. MIK/[.]: the figure is quite obliterated.

271.

- 2. PRE[: perhaps only the usual: is lost. In l. 1 a placename is required.
- 4. M[: a mere trace only remains, but MIK/ or MET/ is the likely reading. For Plebiôw see 212, 2 note.

272.

₽ ΘωΘ : KH

ΠΑΕΒΙϢΟΥ

ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ : AH :

ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΚΑΜ/

273.

274.

+ ΔΘωΡ Κς 610ΥΟΤΗ ΟΙ ΜΙΚ/ [[POS:]] ΜΙΚ/ PIS

макаре камал/

г. сюуотн: the name contains the word for "herbs", "greens".

275.

This ostracon may be compared with 196—198, 203; but its form, which, as with the other ostraca beginning with a date, suggests a receipt, makes the present position the more appropriate.

+ TYBI : A
2A66
OI/ MET/ : K
ACKANONE : U5
5 CKEYE NIZANOM : 6
4ÜP : 10
MAKAPE

"Tybi 4th. Hage(1). Wine, large 20. Askalone (jars) 56. Pots of cheese 5. Baskets(2) 19. Macarius."

276.

ΘΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ ΣΗ [
 ΦΑΚΑΡΕ ΚΑ[ΜΑΑ/]

⁽¹⁾ AMÉLINEAU, Géogr. 191 was not able to locate this. MUNIER, Ann. du Serv. 1917, 163, suggests the neighbourhood of Zawiet al-Amwât, 4 m. SE. of Minyah, where a gravestone naming it was found. Paris 129 15, 24 calls it "a large village in the nome of Shmûn" (cf. Lemm, Kopt. Misc. no. XXXIII). In Krall, CCXLII TO20 N2A66 suggests described Tahanshahâ (so Ibn Dukmâk and Al-Tuhfa) now Tahnashā, 5 m. SW. of Minyah, assuming metathesis of h and sh = 6. (Such equivalents as S. 2A6III = B. AUJIII support this suggestion.) Haģe occurs in several of our stelae. [Axis,] Azews in the Hermopol. nome, Wessely X, 190 etc., seems in Krall LII to correspond to 2A6I6 (doubtless 2A66); while Nῆσος Αχεως (Wessely XX, 147) should be the TMOYII2A66, Ryl. 132 n. Θμουναχή, Heracleop. nome, is presumably different (P. Hibeh I, p. 8).

⁽²⁾ Cf. 197. Baskets elsewhere contain bread.

1. HOM [: the name is HOM (cf. 235, 3 note) and probably nothing is lost either here or in 1. 2 except perhaps the punctuation mark:.

277.

₽ фафі : īв · 26ан26ан : 01/ мік/ nн : макаре камаа/

2. 26AH26AH: see 237, 2 note.

278. + месорн д. д/ мак/ оі/ мег/ д

3. A: after this there is a smudge. Probably a letter $(\epsilon?)$ was written and then washed out.

279.

The following receipts are addressed to a camel-driver whose name, κολθε, κογλθε, or κολθη, is a common form of Colluthus. He is frequently described as κολθε πλπογοστε; sometimes the second name is omitted, and twice it is replaced by κλμογλ. If that represents σλμογλ a different person may be meant, but more probably it is for the more usual κλμλλ/, i. e. χαμηλίτης; cf. 261.

ΘΦΘ : Γ :

ΤΓΕΜΆΝ

ΜΕΓ/ Η :

ΚΟΛΘΕ ΠΆΠΟΥ

5 ΟΟΤΕ · ΟΜΟΙΦΟ

ΜΙΚ/ λ ·

4 f. πλπογοοτέ: "the vegetable gardener", presumably the monk so employed, as in Vita Sinuth. (CSCO. 41, 63; cf. ib. 73, 44).

See Plate II. 280. $\overline{\Theta \Theta \Theta} : \triangle \cdot \\ \overline{\mathsf{TKEMAN}} : \\ \mathsf{MEF/} : \mathsf{H} \cdot \\ \mathsf{KO[[A]]} \triangle \Theta \in \mathsf{NANOYOOTE} \\ \mathsf{SOMOIOCMIK} \land \overline{\lambda}$

at the other end, in the opposite direction and in a different

.

Θω[Θ ΔΠΑ 2.[

281.

ΘΦΘ : \$\frac{\pi}{\pi} : \frac{\pi}{\pi} : \fra

282.

өфө : н : ткеман мег/ : н колое папоү

283.

1. HIAHA/: the H is written over the :, and probably the whole word is a later addition. This gives some support to the

explanation as = "the men of" suggested in the note on 248, 1; the word was not absolutely necessary and might have been omitted without much affecting the sense. This explanation would show that the scribe thought in Coptic, not in Greek.

2. MYΓ/ : == μεγάλα.

3 f. KAMOYA: see the introduction to 279.

284.

₽ σωο το :
τογεω :
οι/ мєг/ π : :
κολθε πλπογοότε ·

285.

₽₅ σωθ κθ ϊλ
 πλκογτης
 μγγ/ ₅
 κογλθ€ : κλμογλ

1. The potsherd is broken after ia, but probably nothing is lost. ia would appear to be the number of the indiction; cf. 261, 1.

286.

+ өшө ід тмоу : мєг/ н колон

2. TMOY: not TWOY. Probably to be equated with the TMOY of KRALL, CCXLVI, 7, which occurs along with Thône (Hermopolite nome). But cf. Edmû, 5 miles N. of Minyah, and perhaps Ryl. 401, Arab. l. 3. Several places named Νῆσος (the translation of TMOY) are recorded, e. g. in Ryl. 223. TMOY might however be but an abbreviated form of a compound name, such as Tmounsim.

287.

 $\Theta\Theta\Theta: \overline{\Theta}$ ROYAGE UZU

ROYAGE UZU

ROYAGE UZU

ROYAGE

ROYA

288.

Ψ ΘΦΘ : Κ ·ΤΆΡΟΥΧΜΥΚ/ ΚΆΚΟΥΆΘΕ

2. ΤΑΡΟΥΧ: no doubt = ΤΑΡΟΥΧ; cf. 218, 2 and note.
3. ΜΥΚ/: κ is perhaps a correction, as there is a character (like 2 in form) before and partly covered by it. Perhaps μεγάλα, rather than μικρά, is meant (ΜΥΓ/).

289.

290.

The following section consists of receipts addressed to a camel-driver called Joseph.

өшө . іҳ : фоүнү : мег/ : ів : пан їшснф кама/ тоүгш : мег/ : ҳг :

"Thoth 11. Phouêu: 19 large measures in full. Joseph, camel-driver. Touhô: 33 large measures."

3. In: e corrected from a.

291

This ostracon is a palimpsest (if the word can properly be used in this connection), an earlier text having been washed out. Many individual letters are still visible, but no consecutive sense can be made out. The last line visible perhaps reads θλλ/ Μ ΠΟΟΟΥΘΙC . . .

 $P = \Theta \Theta : IH :$ $TOY2\Theta : OI/MEF/: \overline{A5} :$ $I\Theta CH \varphi = KAMAA/$

292.

ΘΦΘ: ΚΕ ΤΑΣΡΟΥΧ· ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ ΜΗ: ΙΦCΗΦ ΚΑΜΑΑ/: ΜΗΝΑ ΤΧΙΤΟ: ΜΕΓ/: Γ ΜΙΚ/ Γ:

- 2. After MET/ something has been washed out, MH being written further on, with a space between it and MET/.
- 4. MHILA TXITC: apparently the consignor of this wine; "Menas of Tjites."

293.

 $P = \overline{\Theta \Theta \Theta} : \Pi A \Pi A / \overline{O_5} : \Pi$

I. NIANA/: cf. 248, I note.

294.

4 φαωφι : ir :
 πολλοούς:
 οι/ μεγ/ : μη :
 κε μικ/ λα :

 1 πατά :
 απαλ/

- - 4. KE: KE, "other"? or for xal? Cf. 228, 4.

295.

Ψ ΘΦΘ ΚΓ .
 ΘΑΛΛΟΥ
 ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ ЧΗ
 ΤΌΣ Η ΚΑΝΑΛ/

296.

₽ өшө г орг/ несїєу д/ а їш нф канаа/ оі/ мег/ тів.

1 f. opr/ μεσϊεγ : see 345—354 and 99 note.

2. A/A: perhaps this is another way of indicating the 1st $\varphi \circ \varphi \circ \dot{\alpha}$; or just possibly it $= \delta i \dot{\alpha}$ alone.

їωнф : *sic*.

297.

The hand of this receipt is very bad, and the ink has run; hence some of the readings are doubtful.

месор кө їшсеф гамаа/ гаміа/ ї а фор/ боуроур рв м^о/

3. ΓΑΝΙΑ/: 1. καμήλ(ια); cf. 361, 2.

 $\overline{T}\,\lambda\colon$ probably $\overline{T}=$ 10, going with ramma/, $\lambda=$ 1st, going with $\phi c \rho(\tilde{\alpha} c)\,;$ but see below.

187

4. 60ΥΡΟΥΡ: as it is followed by a number this should be a measure, not a name; unless φορ/ is the measure, separated for some reason from the number. In that case we must read π (11) in 1. 3. The nearest name is καρογρ. But possibly we may translate: "Joseph, camel-driver, 10 camel-loads; 1st convoy, Gourour, 102 only."

298.

The following series consists of receipts addressed to a camel-driver called Mathias.

 ΘΦΘ : IA :

 ΤΟΥ2Φ

 ΜΕΓ/ AH :

 ΜΑΘΙΑC ΚΑΜΑ/

299.

₽ ΘωΘ · K ·

ΤΟΥ2ω :

ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ : M5

ΜΑΘΙΑС ΚΑΜΑΛ/

300.

P ΘωΘ : ΚΆ
ΤΟΥ2ω
ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ : ½ ·
ΜΑΘΙΑC
ΚΑΜΆΑ/

301.

₽ **АӨШР КН ПІОМ**ОІ/ МІК/ РП5 А.
МАӨІАС КАМАА

5

2. \overline{pns} : presumably $186^{1}/_{4}$, but the last character is much more like a than A, and just possibly the 1st $\varphi \circ p \times z$ is meant.

302.

+ \times OIAK B FIOM
OI/ MIK/ : \overline{P} :
MAGIAC KAMAA/

303. ӨФӨ : Ks : МIK/ ПОУАГРП AC : IA . ОІ/ МЄГ/ : NЄ : МАӨГАС КАМАА/

2. HOYAI PH AC: For HOYAI cf. 177; also perhaps HOOA, P. Lond. IV 1420, 50, HIAZ HOYZOA, P. Lond. 1419, 1270—2. FH AC is Coptic, "old wine" (cf. 91). The occurrence of OI/MET/ in l. 3 suggests that MIK/IA here was an afterthought, MIK/ being written above for want of space in the line, but there is nothing in the ink or handwriting to confirm this.

304.

₽ ошо : к<u>а</u> : оаллоү : оі/ мік/ : ріξ · маоіас камал/

305.

₽ ΘΦΘ : KA .

TXITC

OI/ MET/ : MA :

MAGIAC KAMAA/

306.

This receipt is exceptional in having $\hat{c}(i\alpha)$ before the name of the camel-driver and being for dates, not wine.

+ αθγρ » Η Δ/ Μαθίας καμάλ/ φοιτίκ/ οάλλ/ Μα

307.

The following series consists of receipts addressed to a camel-driver named Enoch.

Θωθ : Ϊ́λ : ΤΟΥ2ω ΜΕΓ/ : ΝΒ : ΕΝωχ ΚΑΜΆλ/

308.

 $P = \overline{\Theta\Theta} : \overline{K\Gamma} : TOY2\Theta : -$ OI/ MET/ : $\overline{H} : -$ OMOIDC $\Theta A \lambda \lambda O \gamma :$ OI/ MET/ : $\overline{\lambda \varsigma} :$ ENDY $KAMA\lambda$ /

309. Φ ΘΦΘ : IH ΘΑΑΛΟΥ : ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ ΑΗ · ΘΝΦΧ ΚΑΜΑΑ/

310.

P haone \cdot \overline{H} : Tcymoyaot of/ Mik/ $\overline{4A}$ \cdot $\overline{6}$: \overline{M} : Mik/ \overline{s} :

1. TCYMOYAOT: the 2nd γ is here made like x but probably this is an accident, as γ is the reading in 239 and 323; see the note on the former.

311. - ΘΦΘ : ΚΖ ΠΑΘΕΙΦΟΥ ΟΙ/ ΜΘΓ/ · ΝΗ · ΘΝΦΧ ΚΑΜΑΑ/

312.

 $P = \overline{\Theta} \overline{\Theta} : \overline{KH} : \overline{KOYAHY}$ $OI/ \overline{MET}/ \overline{MA} : \overline{MIK}/ \overline{A} : \overline{MAX}/\overline{MAX}/\overline{MAX}/\overline{MAX}$

- κογληγ: see 245, 2 note.
- 3. MA: a correction.

313.

 $P = \overline{\Theta} \overline{\Theta} \cdot \overline{KZ} \cdot TA2POYX$ OI/ MET/ . \overline{K} :
ENDX KAMAA/

314.

The next three receipts are addressed to a camel-driver called Serenus.

3. : \overline{M} : the traces before \overline{M} perhaps suggest a letter rather than :, but 140 $\mu = \gamma \hat{a} \lambda \alpha$ (the minimum number we could then suppose) is more than would be expected, and for $\cdot \overline{M}$: see 315.

315.

₽ өшө [паєвішоў оі/ мег/ : м серніе камаа/

316.

A receipt for dates, not for wine.

+ хөүр · н сернос фоик/ өаал/ кв

317.

The next three receipts are addressed to a camel-driver called Pamoun, who in 319 appears as nammoyu nmaiicamoya.

₽ өфө : н : ткеман · мег/ : кв : памоүн ка мнаітне

5

318.

319.
+ ΘωΘ [Θ
ΦΟΥΕΎ : ΠΆΜ
ΜΟΥΝ ΠΜΑΙΊ

ΘΆΜΟΥΑ ...
ΜΕΓ/ : Η

i. iΘ: or less probably : Θ, the ink of : having run.
4. ∴: sic.

320.

The next five receipts are addressed to a camel-driver named Paêse.

> 321. ₽ Θ<u>Θ</u><u>Θ</u> : κz · ΤΑΣΡΟΥΧ : ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ [ΠΑΗCE Κ[ΆΜΑΑ/]

192

TEXTS.

322.

P ΘΦΘ . κ

ΤΟΥ2Φ :

OI/ ΜΕΓ/ Α

ΠΑΗCE ΚΑΜΑΑ/

3. Mer/: so written.

323.

τεϊφμογνε νος ντ[

r. It may be doubted whether this has any connexion with the rest. The meaning is "These eight big . . . ".

3. тсүмоүлот: see 239, 2 note.

324.

4 φαωφι · ie
 τεγη2ωρ
 οι/ μικ/ ος :
 παησε καμάλ/

325.

The next three receipts are addressed to a camel-driver called Cyriacus.

[+ θ]ωθ κ θΑλΟΥ ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ · P ΜΕΓ/ ΚΥΡΪΑΚΩΟ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

MGΓ/: the quantity has not been inserted.

326.

₽ ΘΦΘ · KΓ :

ΘΆΑΛΟΥ :

ΟΙ/ ΜΘΓ/ : IB :

ΚΥΡΆΚΟΟ

ΚΆΜΆΛ/

5

5

327.

Θωθ : ΚΓ ·ΘλλλΟΥ :ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ : IBΚΥΡΆΚΟΟ ΚΑΜΆλ/

328.

This receipt is addressed to Pmatoi (which should be "the soldier", but it is a proper name here, and nmatoi does not seem to occur elsewhere).

₽ ΘωΘ : IE :

TMOYNCIM ·

OI/ : MET/ NH

ΠΜΑΤΟΪ

ΚΑΜΑΑ/

329.

This receipt is addressed to a camel-driver named Andrew.

өшө ке ^/ апареас камааітоү . // оіп^оҮ кпіа » ог » фор ів

330.

This receipt is addressed to Moses, who is not described as a camel-driver but very likely was one — unless mwychc is to be taken as the name of an estate or of the consignor, as another quantity follows it.

Coptica III.

P ΘΦΘ · KA ·

TA2POYX

OI/ MIK/ MA :

MΦYCHC MIK/ 5 :

3. MA: or MA; the second letter is not exactly like either the A in l. 1 or the A in l. 2.

331.

In this fragmentary receipt the date is immediately followed by a personal name preceded by $\delta(\imath \alpha)$, but probably it belongs to the present series, and the name is to be taken as that of a camel-driver.

P OWO I A/ KWII[CTANTING MET/ NH · MIK/ [

blank

]K[

332.

The series of receipts commencing with a date concludes with several in which the name of the camel-driver has either been lost or not been inserted. In the present case the name is lost.

- Θωθ · ΚΘ | [OI/] ΜΕΓ/ ΚΖ

1. It is doubtful whether the cross was actually made at all.

333⋅ ₽ өшө <u>кв</u> :

ΤΟΥΠΡΟΡ : MH :

334.

οι/ μ[τςλν[sωb]

3. M[: i. e., M[ET] or M[IK].

335.

₽ οωθ : Kz :

Τλ2ΡΟΥχ ·

ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ : PB ·

3. PB: B is probably a correction, and the traces of two dots above it suggest i as the original figure.

336.

P TAKOYOYTC:
OI/ MIK/: KB.

337.

₽ плопе : z · тфоү оі/ мік/ . чв : плнроу оі/ мег/ : н

3. The pot is broken immediately below this, and a line giving the name of the camel-driver may well be lost.

338. Р өфө : ке Тароүж [0]1/ мек/ рёд]Камоү

3. PZA: probably a correction, and so perhaps 1. 4.

4. Probably for καμαλί = καμηλίτης, but perhaps the name samoya. No camel-driver of this name is found in any of the other receipts, but in 319 παμμογιι πμαπισαμογά occurs.

339.

P ΘωΘ : Κλ [

ΤΧΙΤ΄ : [

ο[ι/

340.

Φλωφ/ λ Δ/[
Θλλ κς 8 . [

ΤΕΚΟ[ΝΤλ

3. ΤΕΚΟ[ΝΤΑ: ΠΕΝ]|ΤΕΚΟ[ΝΤΑ, i.e. πεντήχοντα?

341.

This receipt, though placed in this series because it begins with the date, is really of a quite different type, and, as it includes at least two φοραί, was probably intended not for a camel-driver but for the consignor. The name in 1.2 must be that of the latter; the camel-drivers were named in 11.6—7. In 1.8 the clerk probably signed.

2. NOH ΠΑΪ[: if H is correctly read, perhaps NOH ΠΑΪ[ΦΤ, "Noah my father", or NOH ΠΑΪ[ΟΜ, "Noah of the Fayyum"; but II can be read equally with H and is perhaps favoured by the line above the letter.

- 3. ½/: presumably ξέσται, the article not being specified.
- 5. Ø: = ὁμοῦ.
- 6. NMANGAM[OYA: plural, "the camelherds".

342. + - Θ επιφ/ z· π[[Τ] ετρλκοςι[: ΟΙ/] ΜΙ[κ/

2. [T] ETPAKOCI[: this is suggested by the complete letter in the middle and by the traces at each end of the preserved portion, but if OI/] MI[K/ (a doubtful reading) is correct, a number is hardly wanted here, and in any case the number is not usually written out.

343.

This receipt is again of a divergent type. It includes payments on two successive days and was therefore perhaps not intended for the camel-driver. It is in a minuscule hand. The ink is very faint.

+ MECOPH KG KN $^{\Delta}$ / N KP[
MECOPH KA AAK O / IB [
KN $^{\Delta}$ / IO KOYPI MO [

κρ[: or вρ[; not κο[γρι.

344.

The following receipt is exceptional, being a tax-receipt, with the date inserted, as usual in such documents, at the end of the body of the receipt, and, following it, a signature. It is a receipt for wine paid as tax by the monastery through its prior, or agent. A tax-receipt of different form is 369.

минеі . . . (faded) . . невію єўсгаі мінаікаюн мінмон/ папа өфмас гітнапа германе пепр $^{\circ}$ / жеєіс мінтоўн мосіон пінеіюге птагомю' гапкар/ м прфтнс іна/ єўфрх оўн нак аїсмін пісн тагіон' евістоїхеі 'єроч еграф өфө ө іна/ а + фоівамнойі 'єат/ пр $^{\circ}$ / стоїх моі то' ентаг/ фс прок/ +

"... and the honey (1), they (?) write (2) to the council of the monastery of Apa Thomas, though Apa Germanus, the agent (3), (saying,) Lo, 15 hats of wine we have received from you, on account of the tax |s| of the fields of Tahomô (4), for the crop of the 1st Indiction. For an assurance therefore to you I have drawn up this deed and assent thereto. Written Thôth 9, Indiction 1. Phoebammon, humble agent (5), I assent to the deed, as it is set forth."

345.

The next section consists of receipts which begin with the name of an 697000, i. e., a field or estate. For this use of the word and of the similar 9.77000, see P. Lond. V 1690, 9, note; 1741, 5, note. Nos. 345-354 form a series by themselves, being all in the same hand, namely that of Menas, for whom see the introduction to 209. It is a rough, inelegant hand, and the Greek is bad. The receipts all follow the same

^{(1)?} CAHEBIOD "honey dealers", though one expects here a tax official.

⁽²⁾ The plur, in 4 suggests it here. Perhaps 6N- "we (write)".

⁽³⁾ This abbreviation in 164. Προεστώς is supported by 375 and by a papyrus fragt. in this collection: ΠΑΙΚΑΙΟ] Η ΜΠΜΟΠΑΟΤ[ΗΡ] ΙΟΗ ΘΤΟΥΑΑΒ [name] Θ ΠΘΠΡΟΘΟΤΏΟ ΑΙΟΜΗΙ - ΑΙΑ[ΑΥCΙΟ?; but προνοητής by Krall CIII, BM. 1055 and Ryl. 125. and by various Greek texts: P. Oxy. 143, 1134, P. Lond. III, 1072, IV, 1419, V, 1782 etc. For this Germanus v. perhaps Ryl. 289.

⁽⁴⁾ Hardly the female name Tahôm + \hat{o} (not yet found as fem.), so presumably a place name.

⁽⁵⁾ V. note 3. If we read "prior", we must assume this a transaction between two monasteries.

+ optano tiecey owo a b dop/ [[a . . iō]] a/ ana mhiia ano toywngariic oi/ dop/ ekatoii eikoci tecepa fi/ oi/ ϕ / pka m° a/ miiiō eaaax/ efpa/

"Field of Nesieu. Thoth 1, 2nd convoy; by Apa Menas from Touô Neaniskôn: wine, a hundred and twenty-four phorai = wine, 124 ph. only. Written by the humble Menas."

1. NGCGY: the name is properly NGCIGY. Here there seems to be no 1.

 ϕ_{OP} : or perhaps ϕ_{OP} (see 348, 2); but the stroke through P as a sign of abbreviation has been made, and probably the λ belongs to the deleted word.

2. TOYOURANIC: cf. 346, 2; 352, 4. There can be no doubt that the same place is meant throughout, but the reading is nowhere quite certain, and it seems clear that the spelling varies. Here Toyoureanic or Toyaneanic can be read; in 346 TOBAN/ is the obvious reading, though TOWAN/ is not quite impossible; in 352 TOYOWANEANIC OF TOBOANEANIC could equally be read. There can be little doubt that the name is the same as the TOYOU NEANICK/ OF WESSELY, Studien X, 25, TOOY NEANICK/ OF BGU. II 553, B, III, 13, TOOY NEANICKON OF BGU. II 556, II, 7, and TOOY NEANICKOY OF P. Lond. III, p. 111 (= MITTEIS,

Chrest. 199), all referring to the same place, a village in the Hermopolite nome.

346.

Facsimile Plate II.

+ οργανιος πεσιες θωθ

Γ Δ/ απα μηνα απ⁰ τοβαν/

α φορ/ οινιο μικρ/ εκατον

οβτομηκοντά Δγο ΓΙ/

5 ΓΙ/ ΟΙ/ μικρ/ ροβ μ⁰/ Δ/ μινιο

6α/ 6Γρ³/

"Field of Nesieu. Thoth 3; by Apa Menas from Touô Neaniskôn: 1st convoy. Wine, a hundred and seventy-two small measures = wine, 172 small measures only. Written by the humble Menas."

2. TOBAN/: see 345, 2 note. 4. rl/: possibly washed out.

347.

+ NECIEY
ΘΦΘ Γ Γ Φ/ ΟΙ/ ΧΑΚ/
ΤΕССЕРАКОНТА ΕΣ ΓΙ/ ΟΙ/ Α/ Μ5
8 ΚΝΙΤΙ/ Π ΚΑΧ/ ΠΕΚΥCIOY [[KN]]
5 ΚΝΙΤΙ/ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑ 8 ΜΕΓΑΧ/ ΤΡΙΟ
ΓΙ/ ΚΝΙΤΙ/ Α 8 ΜΟΙΚ Γ Μ/
Ø ΓΙ ΑΑΚ/ Μ5 8 ΚΝ/ ΑΗ
8 ΜΟΙΚ/ Γ Δ/
ΜΙΝΌ ΕΧ/ ΕΓΡ/

"Nesieu. Thoth 3, 3rd convoy. Wine, forty-six *lakka* = wine, 46 *lak.*, and 80 (sic) cnidia. Kal() son of Pecysius: thirty cnidia and 3 large measures = 30 cn. and 3 small measures only. Grand total, 46 *lak.* and 38 cn. and 3 small measures. Written by the humble Menas."

4. n: the reading is certain, but the arithmetic (see, however, 1.7, note) requires 8. This suggests that the receipt was

written with the day-book before the clerk, who misread an II as II.

6. киті/: sic.

MOΙΚ/: = μιχρά. But l. 5 has μεγάλα. Possibly therefore MΟΙΚ/ stands for ΜΟΙΓ/ = μεγάλα.

- 7. Au: only a mere trace of the H remains, which might be part of: (though Menas does not use this). In the original copy however H was not marked as doubtful, and perhaps a piece of the pot has been chipped off since then.
 - 8. $\overline{\Delta}$: much more like λ , but Δ / is wanted.

348.

+ OPTANOY NECIEY

Θωθ λ λ ΦΟΡΑ ΟΙ/ CKEYA

ΔΕΚΑΠΕΝΤΕ ΟΜΟΙ/ ΜΕΤΡ/ ΔΕΚΑΕΣ

ΟΜΟΙ/ ΟΙ/ Φ/ ΕΣΗΚΟΝΤΑ ΔΥΟ S ΜΙΚΡΟ/

5 ΕΝ Ø ΓΙ/ CKEYA IE S ΜΕΤΡ/ IS S ΦΟΡ/

8 ΣΒ S ΜΙΚΡΌ Α Δ/ ΜΟ/ ΜΙΝΌ ΕΓΡ/Α

"Field of Nesieu. Thoth 1, 1st convoy. Wine, fifteen pots. Ditto, 16 measures (?). Ditto, wine, sixty-two phorai and 1 small measure. Grand total, 15 pots, 16 measures (?), 62 phorai and 1 small measure. Written by me, Menas."

- 2. CKEYA: cf. 275, 5, CKEYE: The word is no doubt σχεῦος; see the section on metrology in the introduction.
- 3. METP/: the reading is very uncertain, both here and in l. 5, but MOP/ (374) is not possible. ε seems fairly clear in l. 5, and it may be the only letter in both cases, but MEP/ would be obscure, and ετ, if cramped, is a not wholly impossible reading. But μέτρα do not elsewhere occur in these ostraca. They are a regular measure in P. Lond. IV.
- 6. Δ/ MO/: the Δ/ makes μόνα impossible. Probably therefore διά μου; cf. 349.

349.

+ ΠΕΣΙΕΥ΄
[[Θ]] Δ/ ΙΦ^Δ ΚΑΜΑΛ/
[[ΘΦΘ]] ΕΠΑΓ^Ο Δ ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/
ΟΚΤΦΗΚ/ ΠΕΠΤΕ
5 ΓΙ/ ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ ΠΕ
5 ΜΙΚΡ/ ΔΥΌ
Δ/ Μ^Ο/ ΜΙΠΌ
ΕΓΡ^Δ/

7. A/ MO/: cf. 348, 6, note.

350.

+ οργ/

πεσίες θωθ

σπατ/ ε Δ/ ἴωλ καμάλ/

οργο είκοσι s φορ/ είι

γι/ οργ/ κ s φορ/ α μο/ μίπο

εγρλ/

"Field of Nesieu. Thoth, 5th intercalary day, by John, camel-driver: twenty orga and one phora = 20 org. and 1 phor. only. Written by Menas."

351.

+ ογανό πεσίες εωθ επατ΄ ε α φ/ Δ΄ τωλ περά κανάλ/ σκες εικοσί/ τεσέρα ε φορ/ τέσερα ε τι/ σκες α κα. ε φορ/ α Μ΄ ΜΙΠΟ ΕΓΡΑ/

"Field of Nesieu. Thoth, 5th intercalary day, 1st convoy, by John, of Pera ?, camel-driver: twenty-four pots and four phorai = 24 pots and 4 phorai only. Written by Menas."

T. OFATIO: sic.

- 2. 6: perhaps a correction.
- 3. περλ : a place-name, as 354, 3 shows; cf. too 355, 3 note. πλρο could be read in 354, but here ε is more likely then λ. A John πλροογ occurs in 121, 2, and 122, 18, but πλρο is not very likely here, though the same place may be meant.

CKEYE: for this measure (also written CKEYA) see 348, 2 note.

- 4. TECEPA. the clerk seems to have begun to write TECE-PAROUTA; there are clear traces of the K.
- 5. s $\Gamma I/:$ the clerk first wrote s $\phi O P^O/$, then wrote $\Gamma I/$ over $\phi O P^O/$ but did not delete s. CKEYA (the last two letters are very uncertain) is also a correction; perhaps too KA s.
 - 6. MINO: corrected from MA.

352.

- + ογαμό νες[ιε] γ θωθ επαγων⁶/ ε β φορ/ Δ/ μημα αδελ/ απ⁰ τογωανελνία οι/ φορ/ 5 τεαερακοντά εξ γι/ οι/ φορ/ με μ⁰/ μίνο ελ/ μονάζ/ εγρ^λ/
- I. OUAHO sic.
- 2. ΤΟΥ ΔΑΙΙΘΑΙΙΙC : see 345, 2 note.

353.

+

+ οργ/ μεσιες θωθ επλγ/
ε γ φορ/ Δ/ απα μηνα
οι/ φορ/ τεσερακοπτα
ομοί/ τος αςτος τεσερακ/
5 εξ ομοί/ τος αςτ/ τέσερ/
εξ θ γι/ ραβ μο/
Δ/ μπος εγα/

"Field of Nesieu. Thoth, 5th intercalary day, 3rd convoy, by Apa Menas. Wine, forty phorai. Ditto, the same, forty-six. Ditto, the same, forty-six. Grand total 132 only. Written by Menas."

354.

+ optaio hegicy $\begin{array}{cccc} + & \text{optaio hegicy} \\ & \text{owh enat/ } \in \text{ B } & \text{fopa} / \\ & \text{a/ iwa ano nepo kamaa/ oi/ } & \text{fop/} \\ & \text{nenthkohta ayo} \\ & \text{5} & \text{fi/ oi/ } & \text{f/ ibb m/ midoy} \\ & \text{ea/ etpap} \end{array}$

3. перо : see *351*, 3, note. 5. NB: В is a correction.

355.

The three ostraca 355—357 refer to an τργανον called 'Αμπέλου, and in all three the names τεωμικι and παροογ (see notes) occur. The hand is probably, but not certainly, the same in all three.

+ οργ/ αμπελογ ϊτιΔ/ ιε θωθ ις Δ/ Τεωμη κλ/ παροογ ε φορ/ οι/ φορ/ κς εικογ το εξ : Δ/ ωρος +

"Field of the Vineyard. 15th indiction, Thoth 16, by Teshnê, allotment (?) of Paroou, 5th (?) convoy: wine, 26 = twenty-six phorai. By Horus."

- 2. $\Theta \Theta \Theta = 15$: the 1 is doubtful and may be a flourish after $\Theta \Theta \Theta = (\Theta \Theta = 1)$, as in the two following receipts.
- 3. TEODH: a place name (KRALL CXXX and elsewhere) meaning "The Garden". Cf. Deshnê, between Farshût and Ķenah, too far S. for these texts. It is curious that it should be preceded by $\hat{\sigma}(\cdot z)$, which usually implies a person. Apparently

Teshnê must be a subdivision of ἔργανον ᾿Αμπέλου, forming part of the allotment of Paroou.

παροογ: recurs in 385; cf. Ryl. 303 verso, and perhaps P. Lond. IV, 1419, 171, παροβ, 658, 748, 947, 962, παραβ. Β can hardly be read here.

4. ϵ ϕ op/: the ϵ is probable, and this ostracon is therefore an exception to the general rule that 3 is the highest number of φ op α i; cf. 368 and, for a 4th φ op α , probably 211.

356.

+ ορτ/ αμπέλο[γ] θ μηλ/ θωθ/ ς [λ/] Τεώνη κλ/ παροογ φορ [.] οι/ φορ/ κς είκ 5 ογεί έχ

- 4. ϕ op [.]: the number usually precedes, as in 355, but here there is room for a letter between ϕ op and oi.
- 5. This line is very faint, but the letters given can be read with fair confidence. Whether A/ Opoc followed is doubtful.

357.

[+ opr/ am]nea/ [\max / x ow] θ / \lesssim a/ tewnh [κ a/ napo]oy . rewpre [oi/ ϕ op/?] exhkonta +

3. After napo]oy is a stroke, apparently meant for a mark of punctuation.

358.

This concerns the $5\rho\gamma\alpha\nu\rho\nu$ Notivoo. The personal name is that of a camel-driver; hence the ostracon may be classed with 345-354.

+ OPT/ HOTHIO

TA THA! MCCOP! 2

A! FCHICHIC KAMHA!

OI! MIK! C5 · CIAKOC

G2 S OI! MCF! AF TPI

AHTCTPIA +

+

5. CIAKOC: sic, apparently; an attempt at διαχόσια; cf. too τριλιτστριλ in 1. 5f. and the curious forms in 372. See p. 17.

1. n[: perhaps n[ΟΤΙΝΟΥ, as in 358; less likely n[εc1εΥ, as the receipts from that ἔργανον are all in the hand of Menas, which this one is not. This receipt is not in the same hand as 358.

360.

Next comes a series beginning with $\lambda \delta \gamma(\omega)$. The first three all concern consignments from Pshi[n]berre (see note below) and are all in the same hand. The present one is for $\theta \alpha \lambda(\lambda l \alpha)$ and $\sigma l(\tau \sigma \omega)$ ($\dot{\alpha} \rho \tau \dot{\alpha} \beta \alpha \iota$); the latter are not double the first, but as they are for a different place this is not a conclusive argument against the explanation suggested in the introduction to 205; nevertheless it is strange that if $\theta \alpha \lambda \lambda l \omega \nu = 2$ artabas both words should occur here, but in a different connexion. The present ostracon is made up of two fragments.

₽ λογ/ πωι

врре θλλ/ ι5

λογ/ πεσού πλιωτ

σι | ο | η ομ/ πλεπε

]. . . . [

1. Παρί Βργο: prob. = Σενβερρίε, P. Flor. 1, p. 71, which is in the toparchy of Περὶ πόλιν ἄνω (Hermopolites). It perhaps recurs in BM. 1130, 14, though there it scarcely looks like a place. One is tempted to see it in the place transcribed Schnouâdeh by ΑμέμινεΑυ, Geogr. 455; cf. J. Maspero & G. Wiet, Matériaux, p. 115.

4. OM/: probably δμοίως.

πλεπε: qu. πλεπε|[ωογ = πλεβιωογ (cf. 212, 2 note)?

361.

Two fragments.

₽ лог/ пфі вррс гамі[л/] ф бал і л/ [паф/ стнх[еі епіф/ z

- 2. ΓΑΜΙ[λ/; cf. 93, 297 and 362; l. χαμήλι(α).
- 3. 0: a probable reading; "9 camel(-loads)".
- 4. $\pi \lambda \phi$: perhaps the end only of a name, the beginning being lost in 1. 3, but cf. 362, 3, where $\pi \lambda [\phi]$ is suggested by the remains; and not much is lost from the right side of the ostracon.
- 5. z: hardly anything of the letter remains, but what is visible suggests z, for which cf. 362, 4.

362.

Two fragments.

P λΟΓ/ πω[ι врре]

ΚΑΜΙΑ/ [
ΘΑΑ/ is πΑ[φ/ CTH^X]

επιφ z [

3. $\pi \times [\phi]$: cf. 361, 4, note.

363.

A receipt for corn.

Concave:

Convex, in large script:

] Ø ri/ ci| O ca[

- 1. πλcon π. [: "brother P ..."
- 2. ZB: a correction.

5

364.

It is not certain that this ostracon properly belongs to the present series; see note on l. r.

- r. Very possibly λόγος σίτο[υ, in which case this is an account, not a receipt.
- 2. Γ .[: not Γ $C[I|\overline{O}$. Hence we cannot assume that IH in l. 3 means the 18th of the month; it may be a quantity of some commodity, e. g. wine.

365.

Next comes a series of four receipts beginning (or, in the last two cases, beginning the body of the receipt, after a name) with a specification of the φορά to which the consignment belongs. The present one is for 104 artabas of wheat and (or) 52 thallia. The date is placed at the end of the receipt proper and is followed by the clerk's signature. The estate from which

the corn came is mentioned, and probably the receipt is intended for the consignor, not for the camel-driver.

+ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{$

"1st convoy, by Pamoun, camel-driver: wheat, 104 = a hundred and four artabas, 52 thallia, for the payment (?) of Paa = wheat, 104 artabas, 52 thallia. Mesorê 24, 3rd indiction. Dioscorus, correct."

2. PA: 104 is wanted, and there is ink above P which suggests A; it was presumably omitted by accident and inserted later.

ΚΑΤΟΝ ΔΕCAPE: = έχατὸν τέσσαρες.

5

- each: this is inferred rather than read, but it is necessary here, and there are certainly letters after ACCAPE.
- 3. naa: cf. Paa (for Paha) in B. M. 1130, and Baha, distr. of Behnesa (al-Tuhfa).
- 3. κ^T /: probably nataboly or ntheator. There is not very much to choose between the two, but perhaps the first is slightly the more probable. ntheator might more likely be abbreviated as κT^H .

366.

A receipt for 46 phorai, probably of wine. As the cameldriver only is mentioned the receipt was presumably intended for him.

+ β φορ/ απ'τ'ρμας καμαλίτος φορ/ μς

1. An'τ'ρμας: = Άνδρέας; written \mathbf{A}^T ηρμας, the clerk having inserted the omitted letter in the wrong place.

Coptica III.

367.

A receipt for barley, perhaps intended for the consignor. The date comes at the end.

- I. There is no trace of A/ before HPAKAMM[ON, but it may have been lost. Cf. however 1. 2, where A/ occurs. Possibly Heraclammon was the clerk; the camel-driver's name was given in 1. 2. and Victor (1. 3) may be the consignor. The whole receipt is in a single hand.
- 2. $\phi \circ PP$: so written. The dots are probably intended to delete the second P.

368.

A receipt for wheat (44 thallia, 88 artabas), probably intended for the consignor.

+
+ cynθ φacei . [..]

// e φορρ a/ πκγααί

a/ παμούν a/ ιωα νου'

a/ βικτωρ a/ cenoyθ

πκαμπααίου

θαλαία μα

ci apt πη

crp/ μ' eπίφ ι΄Γ

σ ina// +

+

'In God's name, Phasei . . . 5th convoy, by Pcyllius (?), by Pamoun, by John, by Victor, by Senuthius, camel-drivers (?), 44 thallia, 88 artabas of wheat. Written Epeiph 13, 3rd indiction."

- 1. Phasei, like Heraclammon in 367, is perhaps the clerk. фассыс, "French beans", seems impossible.
 - 2. $\overline{\epsilon}$ ϕ opp: for a 5th convoy see 355, 4, and note.

πκγλλ]: the reading of the first three letters is very uncertain, but the second is either κ or H. For the name Πχυλλί cf. Πχύλιος (= Pgol, Ryl. 212) in P. Lond. IV, index. What is meant by this string of names preceded by Δ/ is not clear. We can hardly suppose that Pgol was the consignor and the others successive agents, through whose hands the consignment had passed. The others, however, or perhaps all, may be camel-drivers who had brought portions of the consignment (cf. below); John and Pamonn, at all events, are known as camel-drivers. But in that case it is strange that the names are given in this way, not connected by xαί.

- 5. ΝΚΑΜΗΛΑΙΟΥ: possibly \vec{n} is to be taken as the plur. article before καμήλιον, "camel(-loads)", but it might also be the genitive particle or dative. Can the word be regarded as an attempt at καμηλιτών, by a clerk more at home in Coptic than in Greek?
 - 6. MA: a correction. An original Γ is visible.

369.

This receipt is exceptional in being a tax-receipt; cf. 344. As such it is of some interest, especially as it seems to contain an allusion to the *caput* or personal unit of taxation; see the references in the note to 1. 2.

+ [[κ]] + εcx/ πασοιι
πισοογ κ κεφ/
τεταρτης ινα/ κερ/
Δεκαπέντε τε
ταρτον γι/ κ/ ιε α.' αλέξ/
χοιακ / z / ινα/ α.
κ ορμείας α/ κώνςταν
τιος ετοιχει μοι + (2nd hand?) μηνας
αμα μογς[..]ς ετοιχει +

"Received (from) brother Pisoou for (his) caput for the fourth indiction fifteen and a quarter carats = 15¹/₄ c. (of the standard) of Alexandria. Choiach 7, indiction 4, for harbour dues (?). Constantius, correct. Menas, son of Ama Mus... correct."

- 1 f. παςου πισόογ: probably the tax-payer, the full phrase being ἔσχον παρὰ κτλ.
- 2. κεφ/: probably κεφαλῆς: see Bell, Journ. Eg. Arch., 4 (1917), p. 95; P. Lond. V, p. 249; Journ. Eg. Arch. 6 (1920), p. 137.
- 4. AGKARGNTG: for the overlining of numerals see the instances collected in Index 1 (s. v. "Overlining of numerals") to P. Lond, V.
- 5. A': this is required but Al/ is an easier reading and is perhaps right (going with AAEZ/), the A' being accidentally omitted. In that case, the translation is "151/4 c., by Alexander."
- 7. Ε OPMEIAC: the o is very uncertain, but the reading as a whole is probably correct. It is not quite clear what meaning is intended; έρμιά or έρμειά occurs as "fishing-line of horsehair" (Liddell and Scott, s. v.), but perhaps it is better here to connect the word with έρμος in the sense of "anchorage". Even so, however, it is uncertain how the phrase is to be connected with the context. The following character is almost certainly Δ/, so that this is not a separate payment, unless the amount was accidentally omitted. Was the payment ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς applied to defray harbour dues? It is not certain whether a new hand begins here, but the hand of Menas' subscription may well be different from what precedes.
- 9. AMA MOYC[..]c: this should be a female (the mother's) name.

370.

This receipt is unique in beginning with the name of the camel-driver preceded by $\hat{c}(i\hat{\alpha})$. It is for a miscellaneous load, wine and vegetable seed, and is of some interest as specifying (if the explanation of ll. 5—7 suggested in the note is correct)

the quantity of each per camel-load. There are difficulties in this explanation, but it is probably correct.

+

+ A/ IWATIDH TO . . GAC

KAMHAIT^OY À ΦΟΥΡΑ

MIKPA KIILAIA EKATOTI

8 AAXATIOCCTEPM^A ΘΑΑΑ/

5 AWAGKA ΓΙ ΚΑΜΗΛΙΑ Α

GIC ΚΤΙ^Δ Ρ 8 ΚΑΜΗΛΙΑ 5

GIC ΑΑΧ/ ΘΑΑΑ/ Θ GΓΡΑΦ/

MH ΘΦΘ Κ5 ΙΤΙΔ/ Α

AI GMOY HAIAC API TAK[A]

TO TH KAN EGO TI[. . . .]

ME[

"By John son of (?) Po—eas, camel-driver, 1st convoy. A hundred small *cnidia*, and twelve *thallia* of vegetable seed, there being 4 camel(-loads) to 100 *cnidia* and 6 camel(-loads) to 9 *thallia* of vegetable seed. Written Thoth 26, 4th indiction, by me, Elias. (Coptic.) Be so good, even if (xäv) you be..."

- 1. 10.0 GAC: the traces are really too indistinct for any certain reading; 100 meAC or 100 might perhaps be read, but 100 might be equated with 100 might be equated with 100 might be 100 might be equated with 100 might be read, but 100 might be equated with 100 might be read, but 100 might be equated with 100 might be read.
 - 2. $\phi \circ \gamma P \lambda$: the λ at the end is very doubtful.
- 5. [1]: very doubtful; what follows is certainly not a mere repetition of the preceding sums but seems to be a specification of the division of the quantities into camel-loads; cf., for a certain instance, 2II, 6. But it is not clear why only 9 $0a\lambda\lambda la$ are mentioned in 1. 7. 6 loads to 9 thallia are $I^{I}/_{2}$ thallia per load; but since there were I2 thallia it would have been simpler to write kamhaia H GIC $\lambda\lambda\lambda$ / $\Theta\lambda\lambda\lambda$ / IB. In the case of the cnidia however the figures (100 cn. to 4 loads = 25 to 1) accord well with the evidence of 2II, where 24 cn. = I load.
 - 7. GΓΡΑΦ: more like CΙΡΑΦ/, but ἐγράφη must be meant.
 Coptica III.

371.

Next come some receipts beginning with a name, whether personal or topographical. In 371 and 372 the name is of the second kind. These receipts were more probably for the cameldriver than for the consignor.

фоүнү
пакфменос : А :
мег/ ₹А :
їшганінс
камал/
мік/ а ·

- 2. ΠΑΚωμένος: Α : the A is a correction. Probably = ἐπαγομένων.
 - 3. ZA: a correction.

5

372.

+ 2010
- GRECH: B:...

1002401HC KAM/

OI/ MGF/: \$5: GKC

H11.TA 2HKC

OI/ MIK/ OO: GY

MHDTA 2611

1164 FEWPFE

FPAYA +

"Eḥnis. Epeiph 2. John, camel-driver: wine, 66 = sixty-six large measures; wine, 79 = seventy-nine small measures. Written by George."

- 1. 2NIC: = 2ПНС Ahnâs Heracleopolis.
- 2. What follows B: is a mere scribble, perhaps meant only to fill a space.
- 4f. ΕΚCΗΠΤΑ 2HKC έξήκοντα έξ; so too in l. 6f. ΕΥΜΗΠΤΑ 2GNICA = έβδομήκοντα έννέα. Cf. p. 17. The form έξήντα at all events was not confined to Egypt; see Ducange, $s. \nu$.

373.

Here again we have an equivalence of camel-loads to cargo; cf. 370. In the case of this and the following receipt it is impossible to say who was the recipient; the persons named are not described as camel-drivers.

₽ күріак/ мона zотос камна/ s оі/ кол/ раг екатон [[а . .]] 5 тріаконта тріа +

"Cyriacus, monk: 6 camel(-loads), 133 = a hundred and thirty three —— of wine."

- I f. ΜΟΝΑΖΟΤΟC: = μονάζων.
- 2. KAMHA/ 5: the reading is certain; not KAMHAIT/.
- 3. κολ/: not πν(lδια), though the o is very doubtful; but κολ/ seems possible. πόλλαθον, πολοφώνιον and πόλοβον (cf. 38π) are all possible extensions. πόλλαθον is most frequently a dry measure, but in π36 it is found along with measures regularly used for wine.

PAC: AC is a correction from C.

374
Р папноуо . . .

ФВНИЕ МОР/

ИГ ПЕННКОН[ТА]

ТРІС ЄГРАФ

Н

ӨШӨ ІӨ Є

ІПА/

1. παπνογο...: on the right side of the ostracon the ink is in each line very faint, and it is impossible here to say whether παπνογοιογ or παπιογοιος was written.

2. MOP/: ωβΗΝΕ = "palm-fibre" (σεβέννιον; see 104, note); hence MOP/ may = MOYP, "bundle" (148, etc.), or MAIPE, of the same meaning (184), etc.

- 3. ngnhkon[ta]: sic.
- 5. e: extremely doubtful.

Fragmentary and Uncertain Documents.

375.

+ †[] α στογβ πίσβεστ 2[ιτιι Ιωτατος πιθεπισκοπος απα εγπομ[ίος εβολ 2ιτοοτ θωμάς παϊοικητή[ς Μπμοναςτηρίον ετογάαβ [Γιαπά θωμάς 2ιτιμπμαϊ[πογτε πεπροέςτως μπάπα] [πμεσςτιάλη αγω[

Beginning of a document addressed to the monastery of Apa Thomas by a bishop.

"The holy [(1)] of Sbeht, [through? the] most saintly bishop (2), Apa Eunom[ius....], through me, Thomas, the overseer (3), [writes to] the holy monastery [of the Rock] |s| of Apa Thomas, through the pious [....], the prior, and Apa [....], the second-in-authority (4) and ["

5

⁽¹⁾ Perhaps πέτρα.

⁽²⁾ Presumably bishop of Sbeht (Apollinopolis Parva), in whose diocese the monastery of Thomas presumably lay.

⁽³⁾ On ecclesiastical διοιχηταί ν. Gelzer's Leontios 122, Steinwenter in Wessely's Stud. XIX, 35 ff. Διοιχητής of a monastery, Vita Sabae Pomialowsky 130, 194, 214, 246; identical with ήγούμενος ib. 204, or archdeacon, Wessely P. Kl. Form. no. 271 b. In Coptic, Ryl. 116.

⁽⁴⁾ The δευτεράριος (which the Coptic here translates) is met in Middle Egypt, e. g., at White Monastery, Miss. IV 64, Δ. ΕΥΤΟΛΑΡΙΟΣ, BM. 154, 489; or further north, Ryl. 224, Ann. du Serv. VIII 94; but apparently not at Thebes, CO. p. XIX. A liturgical fragt, belonging to S. DE RICCI makes προεστώς in the Greek correspond to δευτεράριος in the Coptic translation.

376.

+ стефанос поік^о/
гтоот анок алоск
орос пящнре пя
сгаї мпасон апа

5

"Stephen it is, the steward, through me, Dioscorus his son(1), who writes to my brother Apa [.... and] Apa I["

377.

]сфт[
]те аітра пкаварон
]пекалафатнс
]ауш аухооу
]ф оупасе наі
]е гитарце
]о нсекате
]копе

Fragment in which 2 (or 3) litra of "pure" (? wine) are mentioned; also the "ship-caulkers" (2) and possibly (1. 7) "the potters" (3).

378.

] }

па]ппоүте
фо]ваммши
г ихнсте ппег
с]он еншх покономос
]те +

...] Papnoute [....] Phoebammon [....] xestes of oil [...my] brother Enoch, the steward [

⁽¹⁾ Dioscorus acts as scribe. In g_2 probably the same Stephen appears to write himself.

⁽²⁾ Cf. P. Lond. IV 1391; also a Balaiza fragt. (3) Cf. 178 n.

218

379•
+ ΑΝΟΚ[
] ΠΡΜΤΜΟΥ[
] 2ΜΠΩΡΨ 2[
].ΘΕΟΦΙΑ[
5]ΝΤΠΕΡΩ[
]ΑΟΓΕΙ ΕΡ[
Π]ΡΩΤΟΣ[

A deed of some kind, possibly a declaration (1.6? époks- $\gamma \in V$). L. 2 shows a place-name, Tmo[u(1); l. 3 another, Porf, found in 132 and elsewhere (2).

380.

The following ostraca are all probably receipts. The present one seems to have been of the type: Date; place-name; amount of wine; name of camel-driver. The latter is Enoch (see 307—313 above).

Κ[ΟΙ/ ΜΕ[Γ/ ΚΟΥΛΗΥ : ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ : ΜΕ : ΕΝΏΧ ΚΑΜΑ/

1. κ[: less likely n[.

⁽¹⁾ Cf. 286, though it may here be abbreviated from Tmounsim (v. Index), or another of the many names so formed.

⁽²⁾ Cf. Ryl. 111, 120; and as Pôrb, in a Balaiza fragment, and perhaps [P]ôref, CLÉDAT, Baouit I 47.

381.

| MON]AZ|
| OI/] KOAOB/ EKATON
| I/ OI/ KOA/ PÏB M/ ECP^A/
| XC TA HOIOYNTA
| HENTE
| EAAX/ CTOIX/ ECP^A

- 1. It is not certain whether this was the first line.
- 2. KOAOB/: see General Introduction, Metrology.
- 3.] i/: or \mathscr{L} (= $i\pi \epsilon \rho$), in which case \mathscr{L} oi/] may perhaps be read in 1. 2; but ($i\pi \epsilon \rho$) would seem to imply a money-payment ("in lieu of"), and we do not elsewhere get the conversion of wine into money in these ostraca. More probably we should read [AWAGKA Γ]i/.
- 4.]xr: the x is not certain (κ is possible), and the amount is rather large, but sums of 100 and 112 occur above.

382.

] OI/ MIK/ & LI/ KE[] DOI/ OPP KY CI[O

2. KA: or, less likely, KA.

4. Θ : or λ , but Θ is more likely.

383.

]...[..]..[A/ TECH KA/ ПА[POOY ΘωΘ/ 5 ΙΑΚΥΒΙ[ΟΥ ΟΙ/ ΦΟΡ/ AB : M[/]ΟΙΙΙ[

2. Tempi : l. Tempin; cf. 355, etc. The omission of the is no doubt accidental.

5.]OIN[: perhaps OIN[/ = οἴνου. Less likely πΑΜ]ΟΥΝ[.

384.
.
].ckeye
]mik/ cn[
]aak/ pa[
]ahf

I. CKEYE: doubtful, but fairly probable. It might be possible (though it is less likely) to read necreye, but the name is elsewhere necrey or necrec. The big coarse hand of this ostracon is different both from that of the series beginning opp/necrey and from the most usual hand of the receipts beginning with a date.

385.

ο]κτω + ω]ήννο παροογ

For this John cf. 121, 2.

INDEXES.

INDEXES.

n. = note, or other discussion. f = occurs more than once.

The references are to pages.

I. — NAMES.

агене 137.	гешргюс, гешрге, saint 69.
AAAM, biblical 62, 63*, 70, 73, 74.	ΚΟΥI 72 .
AGANACE, camelherd 160.	, camelherd 109, 110, 111, 141.
AAEžANAPOC? 211.	67, 85, 96, 104, 115, 116, 133,
AM[, invoked 74.	142, 146, 205, 214, 219.
[.] AMA, fem. 116.	
ANAPEAC, camelherd 112, 193, 209.	AANIHA, archimandrite 85, 132.
65, 87.	143.
ANOΥΠ, saint 61, 63-66*, 67,	Δλγει <u>Α</u> 115, 116.
70, 71, 72*, 74, 7 6, 79.	AIOCKOPOC 209, 217.
NO6 saint 59, 70, 82.	
, camelherd 137.	€ірніін 138.
59, 74, 75*, 82, 117, 129.	(€) AENE, Helena 65.
ДПОДДШ , saint 61, 72, 76.	GHOX, biblical 79.
NO6 79.	, saint 70, 72.
<u>72, 74, 75, 77, 81*, 84, 94, </u>	, steward 86, 87 (?), 91 (?), 93 (?),
113, 116.	96, 217.
	, camelherd 189*, 190*, 218.
варооломаюс 61.	— коүт 82.
BACIAGOC, BACIAG 104.	76, 87, 92, 93, 96, 98, 103,
BIKTOP, saint 69.	117, 137—141*, 146*, 148, 158.
, archimandrite 91.	епімахос (?) 130.
, papa 63, 67, 69.	Epime, martyr, his name 173 n.
, апа 116.	EYNOMICC, bishop 216.
 ко Үі 65, 67.	eγc[τλθιοc](?), camelherd 154.
<u>64, 65, 74, 75, 117, 129, 210.</u>	
	ZAXAPIAC, camelherd 110, 111, 112.
Гавріна, archangel 59, 60, 62, 69, 71.	zwн, сwн, Eve 70.
renane, camelherd 206.	2 2
repmanoc, repmane, saint 64,70,72.	2HAIAC 74, 82, 152, 153, 213.
prior (?) 198.	нракламмшіі, гнракламшіі, Не-
84*, 136.	raclamon 120, 210.

```
KYPIAKOC 215.
2HAAKAG. Heraclius 103.
                                      Kurrah b. Sharîk, letter from 9.
2HPAKAGODI 131.
                                      KOCTANTINE 62, 157, 194, 211.
HCIAC, 2HCIAC 72, 92, 149.
                                      AAXHAOC 116.
ӨЕОДШРОС 130.
                                      AOYKAC, camelherd 151*, 173-176*.
θεγηλ 85, 100.
OWMAC, Thomas, founder of the
                                      ACDTC, saint 61.
  monastery 6, 8, 59, 60, 61, 63-67,
                                      MAGIAC, camelherd 154 (?), 187, 188*.
  70-74, 76*, 77, 82, 134, 198, 216.
____, dioiketes 216.
                                      ____ 122, 161.
  <u>— коуі 81.</u>
                                      MAKAPG, saint 70.
____ 103, 129, 141.
                                      _____, camelherd 109, 176-180*.
                                      ____ 83, 84, 116, 129, 131, 139, 158.
                                      макрове 116.
IAKOB 120, 129, 131.
                                      MAPOA 146.
IAKYBIOC 219.
IACO, gnostic 51.
                                      MAPIA, Virgin 59, 60, 62, 63, 69, 70, 71*.
                                      MAPI2AM 116.
IEPHMIAC, saint 79.
                                      MAPKOC, evangelist? 70.
— коуі 80.
____ 64, 81, 151, 158.
                                        — 74.
IOYCTOC, IOYCTE, invoked 64, 72, 74.
                                      MHNA, saint 69.
____, steward, abbot? 90.
                                      —— коүі 72.
                                      ____, MINA, MINE, MINOC 119, 127,
____ 95, 96, 102.
                                        137-140*, 141, 145, 159 n., 185,
ICAK 98, 101, 129.
IШСНф, invoked 61, 63—67, 70, 71, 72,
                                        199, 200, 202*, 211.
  74, 76.
                                      MINOC, V. MHNA.
____, camelherd 159, 184, 185*, 186*.
                                      MIXAHA, archangel 59, 60, 62, 69,
____ 100, 103, 147.
                                        70 (!), 71.
IWZANIIHC, IWANNHC, Baptist 73.
                                      MWYCHC, saint 70, 73, 79.
____ πλρθενος, evangelist 73.
                                      ____ I2I, I94.
  ____, camelherd 109, 111, 150, 167—
 172, 202, 204, 213, 214.
                                      NA2POY, steward 150.
 ____ 15, 61, 64, 74, 75, 77, 85*, 86,
                                      1106, ATA 76.
  95, 104, 120*, 121, 129, 130, 131,
                                      NOH, Noah (?) 196.
  140, 145*, 150, 155, 159, 210.
                                      NW2€ 157.
KAA/ 200.
                                      OYENOUP, ONNOUPLOC, saint 72.
KAAAI, T-, name? 93.
                                      — 74, 75, 13o.
KACTOP, martyr 131 n.
KHPI, KIP€, Cyrus 142, 1491
                                      ΠλλΜ 15.
ΚΟλλΟΥΘΟC, ΚΟλΘΕ, saint 69, 72,
                                      ΠλΗCE, saint 59, 77 (?).
  160, 161.
                                      _____, camelherd 191*.
____, camelherd 181-184*, 206 (?).
                                      —— 77, 83, 131, 152.
_____ 151.
                                      ΠλΜΟΥΝ, saint 62—67*, 70, 71, 72, 74,
KYPIAKOC, camelherd 192, 193*.
                                        76, 79.
```

ΠλΜΟΥΝ, camelherd 111, 191, 200. CEPIJE 145. 210. CIMO96 78. ____ 78. CIPE KOYI 78. πλΜΟΥΤΕ, πλΜΟΥΔΕ (?) 82. сіфере 129. ΠλΠΝΟΥΘΙΟC, ΠλΠΝΟΥΤG, saint 72. CONCNAY, saint 60, 71. _____, steward 91, 92*, 100, 114, **COΥΡΟΥC** 74. 144*, 145. стефане fem. 79. **67**, 74, 88*, 99, 102*, 129, СТЕФАНОС, lashane 102. 147, 148, 215, 217. _____, steward 89, 149, 217. папо26, saint 79. ____ 81 (?), 113, 147. паргамос 139. ΠΑΤΆΡ[%] 104. TANACTE 116. патермоүте 78, 93, 126 (?). TX20M(I) 198. патне (? апатне) 83. TECKKE 116. πλγλε, πλγλΟC, saint 61, 69, 70. **ТРНИН 116.** ____ 74, 76, 83, 84, 130, 132. remue 116. ___ коүі 68. **ПЕКУСІС** 200. ΦANE (? Stephane) 116. π€ΤΡΟC, π€ΤΡ€, apostle? 73. ΦACEI ... ? name 210. ____, saint? 70. фів, saint 61, 72. ____, saint 61, 63—67, 70, 71, 72, ____ 74*, 117. 74, 76. фівіос 159. ____ 70, 72, 74*, 139, 150. філовеос 73. півамши, у. фоіваммши. ф(1) ДОКАДІОС 116. ΠΙCOΟΥ 211. пі2НҮ 94. фоїваммогі, saint 69, 70, 72, 79. пкоү 161. ____, prior (?) 198. ПКҮЛЛ 210. ____, papa 66. TMATOI, camelherd 193. ____, camelherd 109. .____ 193, ____ 73-76, 96, 102, 113, 119, 120, TONTIOC 15. 128, 129, 130, 138, 139, 140, 217. ψγN2WP 134. птаүрос 129. 2ωρικεΝ(HC) 129. пира 104, 127. 2ልእG 74. πωλι τιερ(εΜΙλC), saint 79. Handalah, John b. 9 n. **π**6ωλ, saint 69. 2EPBEKKE, Rebecca 116. ____ 86, 140. 2220, saint 62. 200P, camelherd 154 (?), 164*-167, РЕВЕККА, v. 26РВЕККЕ. 204 (?). <u>74*</u>, 75*, 76 (?), 88, 120, 129, САЛЕП, ? name 123. 144*, 145, 157, 158, 204. сарапіши 91. CENOYOIOC 210. CEPHNOC, CEPHNE, camelherd 190. 60YPOYP 186.

II. - MONTHS.

000γt, θωθ 62, 109, 112, 132, 140*, 141, 143, 159, 160, 164—176, 178, 179, 181—196, 198—205, 213, 215, 219.

πλοπε, φλωφι 69, 142, 164*, 168, 169, 171, 177*, 181, 185, 189, 192, 195*, 196.

λθγρ, λθωρ 149, 161, 170, 176, 180, 187, 188, 190.

χοιλέκ, χοιλέκ 64, 67, 151, 170, 172, 188, 211.

Τύβι, τωβε 136, 180.

εμώρ 65.

Парм20ТП, фаменфө 64, 68, 149 (?).

Пармоуте, фармоуы 59, 61, 66, 68, 78, 136, 146.

Пафинс, пахфи 77, 78, 124.

Паути 134, 210.

ЕПНП, ЕПЕНф 120, 127, 128, 133, 197, 207, 208, 210, 214.

МЕСОРН 138, 139, 150, 157, 158, 159, 186, 197, 206, 209.

ЕПаг(Омена), "the little month" 159, 202, 203, 204, 214.

III. — PLACES.

 АЛЕЗАНАРЕІА (?) 211.

 АМПЕЛОУ, ОРГАНОН place 204, 205*.

 АНТІНОУ (?) 61.

Balaiza, Dair 6.

Ganadlah, Dair al- 1, 3, 5, 6.

ДЕКІМАІІН 152 п.

ΘΙΟΜ 74*, 75, v. also ΠΙΟΜ.
CP[ΜΟΠΟλΙΤΟΥ ΠΟΜΟΥ?] 15.

ΘΑλλΟΥ 15, 160 n., 161, 165*, 171, 172, 176, 178, 186, 188, 189*, 192, 193*.

Thomas, monastery of 134, 198, 216. OWIIE, martyrs of 74.

Jeremias, monastery of 151 n.

ΚΟΥλΗΥ 172, 173 n., 177, 190, 191, 218.

λλΒΟΥ2ΟΤ 140.

мамеще (?) 81.

| ΠΑΡΙΟ 113. ΠΕΟΥ[, or ΝΕΓ/ 15. ΠΕΟΙΕΥ, ΝΕΟΙΗΥ 93, 186, 199, 200* —204. Nilopolis 119 n. ΝΜ2ΑΤΕ, ΠΙΜ2ΑΤΕ 164 μ., 170, 173*, 194.

оγсіλ, птн[н€] пт- 61.

паа 209.

паам, ктнм^т 15.

панжітс 129, cf. жітс.

паров 15.

парооу 15, 109, 111, 204, 205 п., 219, 220.

патіпе, ? place 141.

пв[= пвномі ? 77.

пвномі, Feshn 78, 84.

пекзеле, place ? 129.

пера, перо 202, 204

пертов 15 (?), 129.

песопоге 83.

Πέτρα 6, 7 n., 10 n. петра етоуаав 136. ΠG2Cλλ2, place? 120. ПЮМ 75 п., 170*, 180, 187, 188. v. EIOM. ПААЛЕ201РЕ 87, 120. ΠλGΒΙΦΟΥ 161 n., 171, 179*, 189. 190. п**л**6пС[, ? place 206. пмампіматінс 67. ΠΜΑΜΠΟΥΑΙ 144. TMANIFACE 129. TMAN2WKE, ? place 129. ΠΟλλΟΟΥCTI 185. ΠΟΥΑΙ 188, cf. ΠΜΑΜΠΟΥΑΙ. пооуш, пшсм- 129. поге 83 п., 90. ппатремон 116, 117 п. Ψ[77. ΨIM[15. πτη[N€] ΝΤΟΥCIA 61. пшрв, пшрч 117, 218. пајемпооуај 129. пантвере, панвере 117, 126 (?), 143 (?), 206, 207 n. φογην 169, 170 n., 176, 184*, 191,

Samalût 13, 14, v. ΤCΥΜΟΥΑΟΤ. Sanhûr 166 n. CBG2T, CBH2T 113, 115, 136 n., 216. CGBHT4, ? place 157. CIOΟΥΤ, ΠΚΑ2- 128, 129. CIΠ 64.

TAKOYOYTC, TAKOYTC, TAK-OYTHC 144, 164 n., 176, 177*, 183, 195. TAAAY 101. TAABI[83. TANHNE 129. ΤΑΠΠΑΤΟΥ 83. TAPOYXIC 175, cf. TA2POYX. TA2POYX, TAPOYX, 117, 127, 165 n., 175*, 184, 185, 190, 191, 194, 195*, cf. TAPOYXIC. TEPYWWI 78. TEMNH 204 n., 205*, 219. Tehneh in Coptic 145 n. TIAOX, 119. TIN, TKA2- 65. TKEMAN, TEEMAN 151, 152, 169, 174, 175, 181, 182*, 191. TMOY 183 n. TMOY[218. TMOYNCIM 167, 168, 173, 174*, 184, 185, 190, 193. ΤΟΒΑΝ/ 199 n., v. ΤΟΥω. ΤΟΥΜ ΝΕΑΝΙΟ(ΚΟΝ) 199, 203. τογ2ω 118, 166*, 169, 176, 178*, 182-185, 187*, 189*, 192. — мпєсоуо 61, 63. тсн, тсү 116. TCYMB:, ? Samalût 14. ТСҮМОҮЛОТ 13, 171 п., 189, 192. TCY112WP 166 n., 167, 168, 175, 178, 179, 192, 194, 195. TWOY 169 n., 177, 195. TXITC 164, 165, 178, 185, 188, 196.

3.20γρΗΗ 117. **3.11 3.11**

2A66 64, 65, 68*, 69, 77, 180 n. 26AH26AH 171, 181.

211HC, 211IC 67, 117, 129, 214.

XITC, NIXITC 129, v. TXITC.

610YOTH 180.

226 INDEXES.

IV. - GREEK.

2ACIOC 59, 60, 69, 82, 84. аганос, проуте п- 63-67, 74. 77*, 78*, AAEA(doc) 203. AITEIN 136. AKPATOC 100, 145 n. $\lambda\lambda\lambda/=\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda$ 94. AMA 146, 211. AMOKP€ (?) 89. ампелос 113. ___ NOTINOC 114. AMDIBANEII 137, 138, 139. ANACKH 136. ANAPICMOC 14, 115 (?), 142, 173 (?), λητισεογχος 104. **ΔΠΟCΤΟΛΟC** 59, 60, 61, 69, 70, 71, 73. ΑΡΑΚΕ (ἄραχος) 154. APETH, 11- of Holy Spirit 71. άρίθμιος 14. αριθμώ, symbol for 56 n. αρτάβη, ν. ΡΤΟΒ. $\alpha \rho(\chi \eta)$, of Indiction 141. **APXIMANAPITHC** 85, 91, 132. **ΑΡΧΙΟΥΜΜΑΧΟ**Ο 101, 158. ACKAACHIC 152, 155, 180. λCφλ ., noun 87. асфаатон 51. BAPOC 100. BIA 15. воно(ос) 15. 6221TE, T- 88 (Greek?). ГІ(ПЕТАІ) 124, 134, 137—141, 143, 149, 150, 159, 196, 199-204, 208. 211. **CHAION 15.**

CHOMH 15.

rnwcic 114.

60γΨ, π- (Greek 1) 97.

ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥC, i e. Enoch 97.

143, 146, 148, 150, 151, 159, 160. 161, 198, 200-203, 210, 213, 214. 215, 219, ▲[, deacon? 93. **ΔλΠλ**ΝΗ 14. ΔGMA 124. AHMOCION 14 (?), 198. $\triangle 1 \triangle (\delta/)$ 105, 151, 157, 158, 159, 161, 186, 188, 193, 194, 196, 199-207. 209, 210, 211, 213, 219. AI GMOY 138, 139, 140, 201(?), 202(?), 213. ΔΙΆΚΟΝΙΑ, ΠΑΤ- 143. AIAKWII 72, 93 (?), 136. ΑΙλλΥΟΙΟ 15. ALAACKEIN 100. AIKAION, noun 134, 198. AIKAIOC 59, 60, 72. AIOIKHTHC 216 n. AOAOC 15.

ГРАФЕН 120, 124, 134, 138, 139, 140.

GKKAHCIA 93. GKOYCIOC 15. GNTATION 142, 198. GПЕДН 136. GПІГРАФН (?) 113 п. GПІСКОПОС 101, 216. GПІТРЕПЕНІ 132. ₹ЛОЇХІОУ 15. GPHМІТНС 104. €ХСІМ 211. G∀НМА 159.

ሊዕү፮ 95.

Θλλ(1011) 149, 150, 154, 156 n., 157, 158, 188, 189, 190, 196, 206, 207, 209, 210, 213.

ΘΟΡΙΚΟΝ (? θηριαχόυ) 52.

ΘΥΜΙΑΤΗΡΙΟΝ 123.

ПА(КТІФП) :	КОЛЛАНОН, КОЛАНЕ 119, 153,
1st 141, 198.	215 (?).
2d 15.	KOAOB(ON?), a méasure 219.
3d 140*, 209, 210.	коүрг 197.
4th 211, 213.	ΚΟΥΤΈΥΕ (? σχυτεύς) 99.
5th 215.	КРІӨН 210.
6th 150.	KTHMA 15.
7th 143.	KYP(IOC), KYPIC 91, 130.
9th 14, 205.	KOMAP (ITHC) 124.
10th 136, 148.	KOM(H) 161.
11th 142.	
12th 132, 146.	۸/, v. ۸۵κοη.
13th 149.	AAKON, AAFON, A/ 87, 88, 119,
14th 206.	164, 165, 200, 220.
15th 204.	AA2OC 82*, 117.
3 1	AAXANIA 124, 213.
к/, v. кератіоп.	AAXANOCHEPMA 213.
KAAOC 114, 132, 159.	ΛΕΒΙΤΏΝ, ΛΕΒΙΤΟΥ 132, 133 n., 134.
КАӨАРОС 217.	AIBEPNOC, ship 96.
KAOETHC 122.	AITPA 97, 128, 217.
KAIPOC 99.	AOFOC 118, 119, 120, 122, 124, 126 (?),
калафатис 217.	127, 130, 206, 207, 208.
KAMHAION 160, 186, 207*, 213, 215.	λοΓάΗ 123.
KAMHAITHC, KAMAA/ 15, 100, 109—	λΟΙΠΟΝ 142.
112, 152, 154, 157, 159, 160, 164—	Nomen 142
181, 184—193, 202, 204, 206, 209,	M/, v. MONOC.
210(?), 213, 214, 218, cf. also In-	макаріос, 82.
dex V, KAMOYA.	, P, i. e. decease 78.
KAII (xãy) 213.	ΜΑΡΤΎΡΟC (μάρτυς) 61, 72, 73.
KANICKE 121*.	METAC 114, 129, 137, 140, 153, 159,
КАРПОС 15, 198.	161, 164—195, 200, 202, 206, 214,
KATABOAH (?) 209.	218.
КАТАСПЕІРЕІН (?) 15.	MIKPOC 115, 129, 137—140, 151,
катафронен 132.	164, 165, 166, 168—192, 194, 195,
катафролнсіс 133, 134.	200, 201, 202, 206, 213, 214, 218,
Келеует 101.	219, 220.
KCAC Y CITY TOT.	
VENNE 101	
KEAAAPE 121.	MOIK/, $? = MEFAAA$, or MIKPA 200.
KEP(ATION) 211.	MONAZWN 203, 215.
кер(атіон) 211. кефадаюн 115 п.	MONAZON 203, 215. MONACTHPION 132, 134, 136, 198,
кер(ation) 211. кефаллюн 115 п. кеф(алн) 14, 212 п.	MONACTHPION 132, 134, 136, 198, 216.
ΚΕΡ(ΑΤΙΟΝ) 211. ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ 115 π. ΚΕΦ(ΆΛΗ) 14, 212 π. ΚΑ/ (? χλῆρος) 204 π.	MONACTHPION 132, 134, 136, 198, 216. MONACTH 130, 138, 140.
ΚΕΡ(ΑΤΙΟΝ) 211. ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ 115 π. ΚΕΦ(ΑΛΗ) 14, 212 π. ΚΑ/ (? 2λῆρος) 204 π. ΚΑΑCMA 112, 205*, 219.	MONAZON 203, 215. MONACTHPION 132, 134, 136, 198, 216. MONAXH 130, 138, 140. MONAXOC 136.
ΚΕΡ(ΑΤΙΟΝ) 211. ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ 115 π. ΚΕΦ(ΆΛΗ) 14, 212 π. ΚΑ/ (? χλῆρος) 204 π.	MONACTHPION 132, 134, 136, 198, 216. MONACTH 130, 138, 140.

μουεί(ον?) 148 n. ΜΟΥΡΟΙΚΕ 124. ΜΟΧΑΟΟ 122.

ПІКАН 75. ПІЎІС 123. ПОЄІП 99, 100. ПОМІК(ОС) 130. ПОМІСМА 14. [ПОМОС], поте 15.

ECCTHC 85, 89, 121, 148, 217.

OIKOHOMOC 86, 87, 91, 92*, 96, 100, 113, 114, 144*, 145, 149, 150, 217*.
OI(NOC) 110—114, 137—141, 143,

Ot(NOC) 110—114, 137—141, 143, 151, 153, 159, 160, 161, 164—181, 183—195, 199—202, 204, 205, 206, 214, 215, 218, 219.

20A0KOTTIIIOC, 20A0K/ 95, 136, 142.

OMOI(CC) 109, 110, 113, 119, 122, 124, 159, 160, 175, 181, 182, 189, 201, 203, 206.

Omoy (\emptyset) 127, 150, 196, 200, 201, 208. Orioma 14.

OPΓΑΙΙΟΝ, or OPΓΟΙΙ 110, 111, 119 (?), 129, 152, 153 n., 186, 199—206.

ΟΡΜ€Ιλ 212 n. ὄρμος 15.

όσιοτής 100 n.

20CIWTATOC 99, 216.

пагархн (?) 113.
пантос 94.
папа 63—69, 74*, 83, 85 n., 86, 87, 89, 94, 113, 127.
парагент 99.
паракалент 100, 136.
пароенос — John Evangelist 73.
патріархнс, biblical 69.
псюєнт (пює) 98.

ΠΕΑΜΆ 134.
ΠΕΤΡΆ V. Index III.
ΠΑΗΡΗΟ 169, 175, 177, 178, 195.
ΠΟΛΙΟ 136.
ΠΟΛΙΤΕΊΑ 84.
ΠΡΑΟΙΟ 115.
ΠΡΙΜΙΚΙΡ(ΙΟΟ) 15.
ΠΡΟΙ (προεστώς οτ προνοητής?) 134, 198.
ΠΡΟΕΟΤΏΟ 216.
ΠΡΟΚΕΙΟΘΑΙ 198.
ΠΡΟΟ, at rate of 142.
ΠΡΟΟΦΟΡΑ 14, 122.
ΠΡΟΦΗΤΉΟ 60, 69.
ΠΥΛΉ 95.

CANTAXE 132. C€A(IC) 127. CHMIHA, measure? 118. CITAOYII, CITA/, simpulum 112, 134. СІППОМ, СІППЄ, СІПОУ 93, 94, 97, ν. στύππιον. CIPOTON & varr. 148 n. σίτος, σι/ 117, 148, 154, 157, 158, 208, 209, 210. CKEYOC, CKEYE 119*, 120, 129, 180, 201, 202. COPOYTON, V. CIPOTON. CTAFMA 121. CTOIXEII 132, 137—141, 143, 146, 149, 157, 158, 198, 206, 207, 209, 211, 219. στύππιον 94 n. σύμβουλος (?) 14. CYMMAXOC 115. CYMOUNON 132, 134. CYTI 0(6W) 210. CYMAPEIN 124. ——, MA 11- 93. СУПГИФМН 100. CYPOYTOH, v. CIPOTOH. CXOAAC(TIKOC) 115. CWMAPC 123. corpoton, v. ciraton.

TAPIXE 88. TITAOC 14. топос 15, 80, тоүт' ести 85. TPIBOYN (OC) 15. TPIMHCION 91.

27пографен 137, 138, 139,

 ϕ /, v. ϕ OPA. фовос 15. ΦΟΙΝΙΣ 154, 188, 190. ΦΟΡΑ, ΦΟΥΡΑ, Φ/ 107 n., 109—114, \ XPGIA 94, 96, 102, 136.

127, 159, 160, 161, 186, 193, 196, 199-205, 209, 210, 213, 219, ΦΟΡΗC, -€C, fem. 88*, 137, 140, 141, 144, 148*. форос 87*, 141. фулакн 103.

XAIPEIN (XEPEAE) 91. XAAKION 51. ΧΆΡΤΟΥΑΆΡΙΟΟ 104. XEIP 126. XMΓ 128. γόρτος Ι5.

V. - COPTIC

λΒω, ΚλΠ II- 94. ልእልγ 124. AMP€ 74, 100. APORE, V. TAPORE. APWIN 87, 126, 143 (?). AC 87*, 88, 126, 188. ATAICN (?), epithet of wine 148. A4, meat 146. **λ600**ΥР€, Π- 96.

BACIH (BAI) 124. BAIK[, noun 134. BWK €20YN 93, 94. BEK€ 132, 134*. ВАЛОТ 124. BAXE 91, 94, 96. BNNE, palmtree 135. ____, dates 87, 98, 121, 134, 146. BUGGOOVE 118. вір, внр, чір 88, 124, 153, 180. BPPE 126, 143. BHT 90.

€BIW 52, 121, 198. екот (? = кот) 89. EKWT 76 (?), 82, 116. EMMON, V. MON.

€T2, noun 144. €6WW 84.

НРП 88, 98, 118—122, 132, 133, 134, 137-141*, 143, 144, 145, 148, 188, 198.

--- AC 87*, 88.

G1 €BOA 98, 102, 103. --- G2PAI 87, 90, 96. €ICD, ass 92. **EICDT**, of angels etc. 59, 60, 69, 70, 72, 73, 79. ____, title 84, 88, 90, 91, 95, 96, 99, 100, 102, 134, 139, 140*, 142, 143, 146, 148, 206. EIOT, barley 132, 134, 150. 100ANE 119" EICO2E 135, 198.

KA/ = KAMOYA 151.KAI = K€ 100. KE-, peculiar use of 84. кае, п- 93. KEAEBIN 122. KEAKOAE NKAH NABOD 94. KAM 97.

KAMOY'A = KAMHAITHC 181, 182, 195.

KAH, KEAKOAE H- 94.

KOYP 158.

KAC, carat 149.

KACE 59, 83.

KAECE = KEEC 30.

ZOYP 94.

KOYI, with name 65, 67, 68, 72*, 80-83, 129, 168.

KA2, in place names 65, 128, 129.

ACBAN 96.

AAKOOTE 134.

AAC, measure? 93.

AAAY, any, each 134.

AAGANE 102.

AA2H 85, 91, 132, 140, 141.

_______, KOYI N- 137—141.

MA, preposit. 85. ____, dwelling 139. MOIA2, measure 147. маг 134. MAN-, herd, v. 6AMOYA. MON, EMMON = MMON, for 89, 90, 95, 96, 98, 102. MOYNE, €MOYNE (?) 48 n. ΜΠα)λ, noun 100. MOP/ = ? MOYP 215.MOYP, bundle 125. MPIC 148. MEZCHAAY, deuterarius 216. MOYTH (?), vb. 96. MOTNEC 136. MOY2, fill 88*, 105, 124, 153. MACHE 94. MACOPT, Π- and Τ- 96. MAU)[PT], T- 123 (?). MAAXE, measure 85, 87, 98, 103, 116, 117, 120, 121, 133, 134. ____, the vessel so called 122. MXWA 52, 86.

NAY, NITH-, at once 88.
NOY, hour 47.
NOY2B, vb. 99.
NEEB, NH4 96, 104.
NE2 88*, 116, 121, 146, 164, 217.
NO6, the elder 59, 70*, 79, 168.

OGIK, reeds? bread? 147. OINE 87, 89, 116, 121, 150. OI2, N-(?) 85.

пшає 95 (?).
пшште 51.
пеніпе 87, 122.
——, a tool so named 122.
прнщ 86, 123.
пасе, noun 217.
пштс (?), vb. 93.
паце 142.
пшмнт, half-tenth 116.

PI 127.
POGIC, vb. 80, 81, 82.
POX2, vb. 30.
POME, 1106 11- 59, 61, 72.
PΠΕ, plur. 115.
PPO NAΙΚΑΙΟΣ 72.
PHC 95, 118, 144.
PTOB, ΕΡΤΟΒ, ἀρτάβη 117, 120*, 126, 127, 132, 134*, 146*, 148, 150*, 154, 208, 209, 210.
POZTE 123.

CA 11-, artifex 80, 96, 97, 116, 134. CBW 100. CBOYI 82. COOK, sacks 123, 124. CIKE, COYO 11- 89. CEKWT, T- 144 n., 217. CEKE2, vb. 90. CIM 90, 120, 132, 134, 150. CMINE, vb. 132, 133, 142, 198. COMTE, T- (?) 94.

CON, NA-, title 60, 62, 65, 67, 70, | 72, 75, 76, 77, 83, 86-89, 91, 93, 94, 122, 136, 140, 141, 146-149, 158, 208, 211, 217. CON (CNHY) 59, 60, 77, 142, 150, 151. ____, ÑΚΟΥΙ 95. CONE, title (?) 65. COTH 121. COYO 85, 89, 120, 121, 132, 148, 149, 150, 155. COYP€ 123. COOYTN, N- 94, 97. CIU)E 52. ငထယ္ေ 93. CA2 72, 74, 82*, 127, 141. CODENE (? CASHE), vb. 133. CA2(T) 600YNE 142.

 $+\epsilon_1$, +1 = +, vb. 52. TO, part 135. TOK (THK) 97. TAAO 118. --- 62PAI 117. TMMO, vb. 134. ΤΝΝΟΟΎ Ε2ΡΑΙ 148. TWPE, noun 121. TAPUE, or APUE, noun, or place? 217. ΤΟΟΥ 83, 101 (?). **—— €ΤΟΥλλΒ** 91. ΤΟΥω-, 2λ-, prep. 89. тош 136. TOO, vb. 135. TA2O 93. TA2T 123.

ΟΥΑΙΦ, title 137.
ΟΥΟΘΙΕ 120, 130.
ΟΥΡΦ ΑΛΑΥ 124.
— ÑΑС 126.
ΟΥΦC4, νb. 98.
ΟΥΟΟΤΕ, ΠΑΠ- 181—184.
ΟΥΤΑ2 94.

ΟΥΟΘ 123. ΟΥΦΦ, vb. 94, 96, 98. —— (θέλησον) 99, 102. ——, noun 74. ΟΥΦΑΠ 93. ΟΥΦ2, place, vb. 91. Ο]ΥΑΣΤΕ 123.

ωλ, vb. 99. ωτπ, vb. 89, 90.

(1) A. feast 90. CIBNNE 96, 97, 215. ФПЕ, ПЕ- 85, 91, 93 (?), 123*. WNH, TE- 127, v. also Index III. wwne, vb. 89. cucumber 121. (3) HPE, KOYI 11- 93. **CHOPCHP** 95. യയ€ 98. wwwT, noun 100. CATEMEA2, noun 88. (1) ATN-, prep. 118, 150. @00γ€, BN- 118. ωργωτ 93, 105. chan, make equal 101. фофт 87. ωєщот€ 94. ωροώρο 119. ωωчт, п- 93.

41P, v. BIP.

 6W, vb. 85, 98. _____ 2IXXII- 95, 142. 6KAKA (? KAKA) €BOA 89. 6ωλπ, vb. 102. 63332T 149. 600M 100. ____ МПРНС 144. 6AMOYA 89, 90, 92, 97, 120, 149. _____, camelload 155. _____, MAN- 91, 120, 127 (?), 128, 137, 141, 150, 173, 191, 196. v. also KAMOYA. 6POM∏€ 121. 60PTC 123. 6WP6, prepare 123*. ____, noun 121 n. 60C, half 116, 155. 600YNE 86, 88, 120*, 121, 132, 142, 148, 149, 150. 61x, + undertake 95. _____, measure 94, 118. 6AA6C, 6A6C 88, 89, 93.

VI. — SUBJECTS.

Abbots (?), commemorated 8. Account-books 14. Almanac 50. Apophthegm 49. Arabic letter found 9. Archimandrite, title 10.

Bishop of Sbeht 11.

"Brother, my" title 11.

Byzantine Research Fund 1.

Camels for wine transport 163.
Cemeteries 5.
Choir slip 46.
Coins found 9.
"Convoy" of wine 107, 108, 109.
Coptic, characteristics of idiom 12.
— dwellings 3, 4.

Cosmas and Damianus, fresco 5, 13. Creed 45. Cryptogram 64 n. (?).

Date of Greek MSS. 14, 16.

of monastic settlement 9.
Days, lucky and unlucky 50.

Egyptian gods as Christian saints? 58 n.
—— (pagan) remains 3.
Exodus, homily on 47.

Fayyûmic dialect 46.

version of Job 29.
Fractions 54.
Frescoes 2.

Graffiti 58. Greek language, its use 16, 17, 18. hagir, meaning 7 n. Holy Family in Egypt 7.

Liturgical texts 45, 46.

Magical names 51.
Martyrs, Threescore 13.
Measures, names of 19 ff.
Medical recipes 51, 52.
Monastery of Thomas 6, 9 ff.
Moon, year of 51.
Mount, the Holy 92 n.
MSS., literary 29.
Multiplication tables 53.

Numerals, names of the Greek 17.

——, peculiar form of Greek 17 n.,
206, 214.

——, overlining of 212.

Nuns 11.

Ostraca as writing material 12.

——, where found 5.

Palaeography 15 ff.
Palimpsests 8, 32, 53, 154, 185.

Papa, title 85 n., 90 n.
Papyri, where found 5.
Pottery, Coptic 4.
Protocols, Greek-Arabic 9.

Recipes written on walls 52 n. "Righteous kings" 73 n. Rock, the Holy 6.

Saints invoked 58.
Salt, uses of 134 n.
Shepherds 98 n.
Shoes as part of wage 135 n.
Stabl at Wadi Sarga 2.
Stelae, where found 57.
Symbols, arithmetical 54, 55.

Tax-receipts 197, 211.
Temples, pagan 115.
Thomas in Synaxarium etc. 7 n.

Wadi Sarga, site of excavations 1. Wine 11.

- _____, accounts of 105 ff.
- _____, measures 107.
- ____, transport of 162 ff.

